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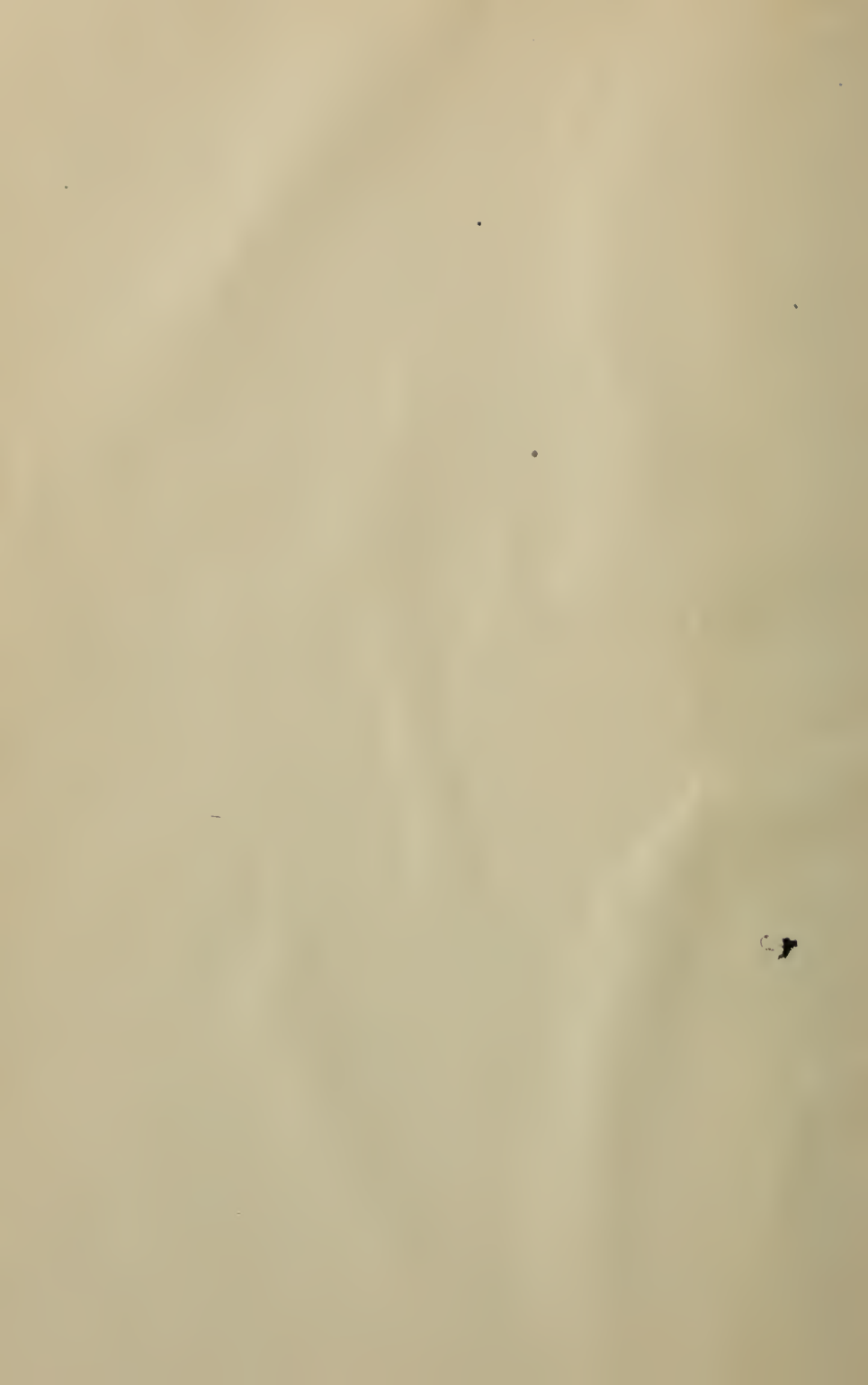
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REMEDY

FOR

EXISTING EVILS,

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL.

BY JUDGE S. D. J. MOORE,

*A Graduate of the United States Military Academy, West
Point, New York, of the Class of 1837.*

NASHVILLE, TENN. :

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A Preventive of all Conflicts Between Capital and Labor.

(Filed 20)

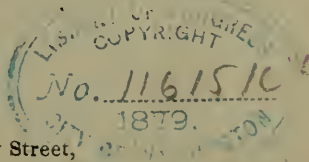
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Press of W. S. Bailey, 109 South Cherry Street,
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OPINIONS OF EMINENT MEN.

After a most searching examination of the work, Governor Seymour, of New York, says:

"It is novel, ingenious, and philosophical."

Governor Chapman, of Alabama, says:

"Besides setting forth the remedy and preventive of evils, it soars far above the ordinary publications of the day in its attractiveness, its originality, and profundity of thought."

To the same effect is the opinion of Judge East, a leading lawyer of the Nashville Bar.

The venerable Judge Caruthers, President and Law professor of Lebanon University, of Tennessee, says:

"Every statesman, lawyer, and voter ought to read it; every student ought to read it, and adopt it as a text-book were the course of studies not so much crowded. I would advise every one to procure a copy and read it."

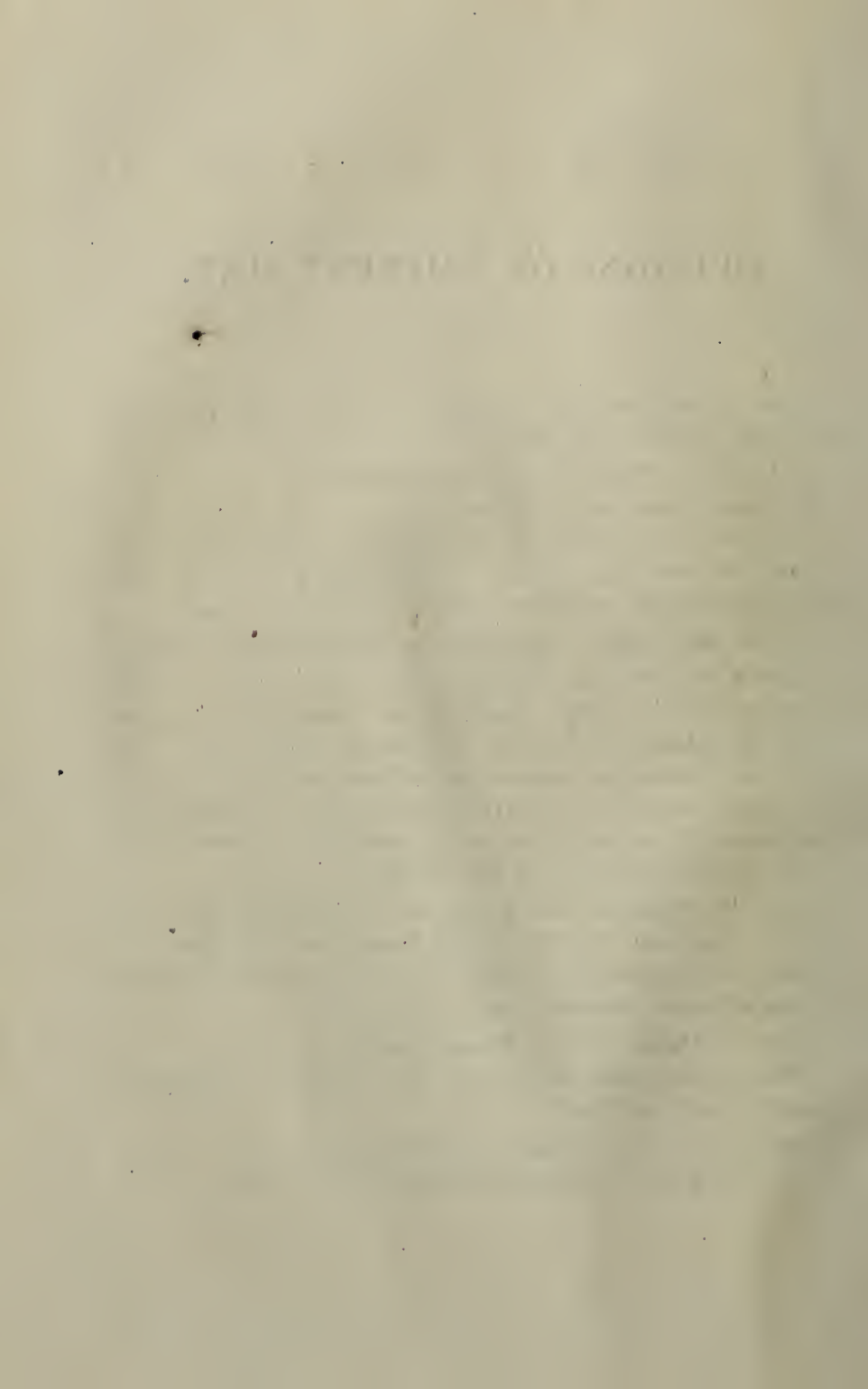
Rev. Dr. Shipp, of the Vanderbilt University, Nashville, agrees with Judge Caruthers, and thinks the work should be studied in institutions of learning, and if embraced in his course of instruction would adopt it as a text.

Rev. Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans, says:

"Great good must result from the publication of the great truths so ably set forth."

The learned and venerable P. S. Fall says:

"It is a work of unspeakable value to the world."



DEDICATION.

TO HON. HORATIO SEYMOUR, UTICA, NEW YORK.

In that model of biographies, *The Life of Agricola*, Tacitus informs us that a love of fame is the incentive of noble minds. However that may be, in the work now dedicated to you, the prize sought is the most glittering and seductive that any one impelled by a love of fame, and inspired by an ambition honorable and noble could covet.

To whom could such a work be so becomingly dedicated as to one who, in defiance of a public opinion which if depraved was never more potential, refused to disrobe himself of the attributes that would alone entitle him to honor and distinction for the sake of office, and yet who, after such an exhibition of true greatness, finding the road closed to all who aspired to become public benefactors could, in the spirit of a noble philanthropy, emulate the example of the self-sacrificing Howard, who, in the language of Burke, "made a voyage of discovery, a circumnavigation of charity to collate distresses, to gauge wretchedness, and to take the dimensions of human misery." Above all, to whom could one so becomingly as to yourself, dedicate the work of a lifetime, and a labor of love, for the amelioration of the condition of the human race, the exaltation of humanity through some governmental contrivance whereby government should be made to subserve the purposes designed by the Benignant Being who ordained government. For, since the preservation of the social state is essential to perpetuate the race, while to its exaltation civilization is es-

DEDICATION.

sential, to these ends God ordained government in the *abstract*. Yet, however constructed in the concrete, *money* is essential to conduct its operations; and as it earns none it must take it out of the pockets of those who do. Hence the power to levy and collect taxes is indispensable to all governments. To advance in civilization, however, or even to maintain one's place in its ranks, money is no less essential than to conduct governmental operations. So that, when government takes so much of the earnings of others as to leave them not enough to advance in civilization or to maintain their places in its ranks, they are thrown beyond its pale, and become, to all intents and purposes, outlaws, as mendicants, criminals, and lunatics. Mendicancy, crime and insanity are the social evils in which all others may be summed up.

It is plain then to be seen that the evils to be remedied are to be traced to an abuse of the taxing power, and since from the public oppression thence resulting, results also its concomitant, the private injustice by which the wealth and money of the country are concentrated in the hands of the few, producing conflicts between capital and labor, it is plain to be seen that the conflicts to be prevented are, also to be traced to an abuse of the taxing power. Hence, the most important and as all experience shows, the most difficult problem ever presented by civilization for governmental solution is: How so to limit and restrict the taxing power as to prevent its abuse? In the solution of this problem consists the remedy proposed. It could be readily applied, would do no one injustice, would impair no one's rights, and is fully adequate to all the ends designed. *Will it be applied?* I once thought the bare suggestion of such remedy would insure its speedy application. But aside from the want of personal independence so conspicuous in the public men of the day, I fell into the same error that had misled the good and the great of the ages who, standing on the platform of the human philanthropy, sought to ameliorate the condition of the race

DEDICATION.

and exalt humanity through some governmental contrivance. But, however ably devised there was always found one thing wanting—a motor power. How and where was this motor power to be found?

The preservation of the social state is essential to the perpetuation of the race, while to its exaltation civilization is essential. To perpetuate, however, requires the power to create, which is omnipotent power. It follows that higher sanctions than can be found in mere human laws are essential to the preservation of the social state, and as these can be found only in religion, the individuals composing the social state must have a religion that commands their confidence and inspires their faith, and as these individuals develop civilization, civilization when developed, must be a reflex of their religion. Hence it is, in ignoring these higher sanctions, lexicographers and elementary writers, the most astute, have given us only *explanations* instead of a *definition* of civilization. Hence, too, in ignoring these higher sanctions philanthropists have failed to exalt humanity.

The definition of civilization, here for the first time given, is not only logically correct; but its correctness is verified by human experience, as seen for example in the diverse civilizations of the Jews and Romans so nearly corresponding to their different religions. From the definition of but few words do results more important flow. For if the religion we profess commands our confidence, inspires our faith, our civilization would progress *ad infinitum*, with an intellection constantly expanding a material and moral condition, constantly improving, because accompanied by blessings temporal and spiritual—temporal blessings in a material prosperity that would ere long through a christian civilization bring about that happy period of which inspired men have delighted to speak. Because, if the religion which we profess commands our confidence and inspires our faith it is because it is a remedy for *sin*, and if a remedy for sin it must be for all evil, because sin is the source and origin of all the ills to which flesh is

DEDICATION.

heir. So that the question, Will the remedy be applied? depends upon the question Does the religion we profess really command our confidence and inspire our faith? If so *that* is the motor power sought.

To a solution of this question we must rise from the platform of the human to that of the Divine philanthropy. Those who stand on that platform will accept the philosophic explanation of the statesman who assigns the causes showing we are in common with all civilized peoples, and have been for years, in the midst of a transition period, proclaiming the *effetism*, to a greater or less extent, of institutions hitherto and at present existing, and realizing the low estate to which we are reduced by comparing our civilization as it is, to what it should be, will admit such periods severely test peoples and institutions, and that through them few if any pass in safety. Not only so, they will see in the moral and political phenomena which so lamentably characterize our times, followed by a frightful increase in mendicancy, crime, and insanity, the operations of a principle of retributive justice, planted and deeply planted by an All-wise and All-powerful Being in the moral and political world, and which for every act of vice or folly never fails, sooner or later, in some shape or other, to recoil upon its authors. And hence they will not only recognize we are in the midst of a transition period but that a day of retribution is at hand, and unless arrested terrible must be the reckoning. Hence, too, as they will see in the development of a civilization that embodies the principles and illustrates the sublime precepts of the religion they profess, a performance of the obligations imposed for the material prosperity in the temporal blessings covenanted by Jehovah, they will add works to the faith inspired by the religion that commands their confidence, and will be for the remedy in the reconstruction proposed; the more especially so, for on examination of the same they will find it is but a rendition governmentally to God of the things that be God's, as well as to Cæsar of the things that be Cæsar's. But in the midst of

DEDICATION.

perils which it is impossible to magnify it is so natural to strive to inspire hopes for the future from the glories of the past, but which when such hopes have been realized in their full fruition, as is the case with us materially considered, all such efforts must prove vain and futile, may we not hope that directed by divine wisdom, our country-men will let "the dead past bury its dead," and having sepulchred in a common but honored grave the glories and the hopes of the past, with clean hands and pure hearts, will approach the altar of their country, where so often in the historic past, have worshiped the mighty dead, and upon that altar place the great measure of deliverance and liberty in the reconstruction proposed.

To the consummation of a measure so devoutly to be desired may I not invoke the name and fame of one who, as a ruler commanded the cheerful obedience and unfeigned respect of his countrymen, and who as a citizen having won still retains their affections; of one who, having lived long has lived so well that in age he receives the greatest of earthly blessings, as honor, love, obedience, and troops of friends throughout the land, and as evidence of the sincerity of one of them, if not for its merits, you will please accept the dedication of this work as the highest tribute I can offer to genius, to worth, and to a patriotism that adds to a love of country a love of liberty.

THE AUTHOR.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

The announcement of such remedy, the author is well aware, will be met with skepticism and doubt; not only because such efforts have hitherto failed, but because, owing to the predominance of our selfish over our social feelings, failure is considered inevitable—a foregone conclusion. Whereas, it is such predominance of the selfish over the social feelings alone that makes such remedy possible, instead of impossible, as generally supposed; and it is in such predominance alone that exists the necessity for such remedial agency, as the author will now proceed to show.

To show, then, that such remedy is possible, let us suppose the selfish and social feelings were in equilibrium; then it would depend upon circumstances whether man acted upon his own volition, or that of others.

Now let us suppose the social predominated over the selfish feelings; man would then be at the bidding of others. In neither case could there be any free agency. Where there is no free agency, there can be no responsibility; and where there is no responsibility, no obligations can be imposed; and of course, where no obligations can be imposed, no remedial agency can be enforced or applied. So, that, it is only because man is more selfish than social that any such remedial agency as is proposed becomes either necessary or possible. And here the argument might close in favor of the possibility and necessity of the remedy proposed. But what is still more conclusive to show such remedial agency, as proposed, is not only possible but necessary, is the fact that God ordained government as an instrumentality through which the selfish feelings should be so restrained as to preserve the social state, which is essential to man's continued existence, and to foster or develop civilization. God could not have ordained an im-

PREFACE.

possibility. But the skepticism, or doubt, is not against the possibility of an ordinance of God in the abstract as government is; but such skepticism or doubt is, as to the possibility of putting such instrumentality in practical operation, so that the evils proposed to be remedied shall not be engendered. Such, the author frankly admits, has hitherto been impossible. But because such has hitherto been the result, it does not necessarily follow that such result is inevitable, or that such result is right. On the contrary, to say that evil necessarily results from an ordinance of God would be to make Him the Author of evil, which is impossible. Hence, then, as evil does not necessarily inhere in such instrumentality, it may be eliminated therefrom; at least to such extent, that the beneficent results, designed by Him who ordained government, may be realized; and in a reconstruction of that instrumentality, for such purpose, consists the remedy proposed.

REMEDY FOR EXISTING EVILS, Social and Political,

AND NECESSARILY

A Preventive of all Conflicts Between Capital and Labor.

In order to prescribe a suitable and adequate remedy, one must understand the nature and character of the disease, its location, and the causes which have engendered the disease. That defective government is the cause of political evils; that political evils produce social evils, engendering disease in the social state and the body-politic, resulting in a diseased civilization, as seen in the evils sought to be remedied, and the threatened conflicts sought to be prevented, I will now proceed to show, treating in

CHAPTER I.

OF GOVERNMENT.

What, then, is Government? Government is an instrumentality ordained of God, for the preservation of the social state, in order to perpetuate the race and to foster and develop civilization.

In order to show the nature and character of the civilization developed under existing governmental institutions, and how developed, I shall treat in

CHAPTER II.

OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THE XIX CENTURY.

Man becomes the creature of civilization on account of the attributes or endowments conferred upon him by his creator. He is a moral being because he has conscience, a sense of right and wrong. He is an intellectual being because he has reason; and he is a physical being because he has bones and muscles, and thews and sinews. From these he derives hopes and aspirations for an improved condition—a higher mode of existence; for, in a word, civilization. This requires physical exertion—labor. So that labor as a necessity, whether recognized as a penalty or not, is acknowledged, felt. At the same time becomes manifest a desire to evade, so far as possible, this admitted necessity. The only mode of evading which, however, is by exploitation upon the labor of others. Carried out to its final results, this, without restrictions or limitations, would lead to intolerable oppressions of the weaker by the stronger and more powerful, and in fact to the destruction of the social state. And, as this state is essential to the perpetuation of the human race, unless prevented, man would relapse into the barbarian condition foregoing civilization or perish. To preserve the social state, and to enable man to realize the civilized condition or mode of existence, God has ordained Government to hold in check his selfish, which predominate over his social feelings. Hence man is a social and political being. Being ordained of God, Government is not a matter of choice with man, we may, therefore, conclude the civilized state was designed for man by the Author of his being. But while he has thus endowed man and ordained such an instrumentality as government for his use

to enforce the sanctions of the duties He has enjoined, He has also deeply planted in the moral and political world a principle of retributive justice that never fails, sooner or later, for every act of vice or folly to recoil upon its authors, Under these circumstances, and subject to these conditions, is commenced the career of civilization. In its progress the first class found unable to continue the struggle, or who are thrown *hors de combat*, are the poor or mendicants. And to this extent government has failed in its mission, for if not exclusively so, this disposition to appropriate or exploitate upon the labor of others is the main cause of such failure, the only exception being those who from imbecility are incapacitated to continue the struggle. For this disposition is prompted by the selfish feelings which it was designed government should check and control. Hence, for this reason, the moral sense if not shocked is at least offended, and hence they are not left to perish by the wayside, but are placed under the care of the government. But those who are mainly responsible for this failure are those who control the government and not only those who seek to exploitate upon others, but also to live themselves by the government, for with the very inauguration of government begins a struggle as to who shall live by the government, and who shall support the government. Of course, then, the government would be burdened as lightly as possible in providing for this class, and their wants and necessities circumscribed within the narrowest limits. And as the struggle continues their numbers increase, while their condition sinks lower and lower until finally they become degraded. From degraded beings the ranks of criminals are recruited. For if poverty, though in itself no crime, degrades, and crime does no more, where is the difference? Hence those in a degraded condition, from poverty, will run the risk of perpetrating crime, for if detected they sink no lower; and if undetected may rise *above* the condition to which poverty has so unjustly consigned them. And this class is strongly re-inforced by another class who find themselves

hopelessly and unjustly sinking into a like condition of the first class that will risk the perpetration of crime to keep *above* such degradation. For if unpunished they will succeed, and if punished their condition will be no lower than that to which poverty would certainly consign them; for since poverty degrades crime can do no more.

However it may have been in other countries certainly in the United States the increase in numbers of the second class became so rapid the moral sense was thereby shocked. Then a strenuous effort was made to extend the school system so as to place the means of a limited education within the reach of all, upon the ground that ignorance was the parent of vice. This, however, failed to accomplish the object desired, and then sprung up the demand for penitentiaries as reformatory institutions. But every effort so far has failed, and signally failed. Worse still, so great has been the wear and tear, the harrassing cares and anxieties to continue the struggle and escape the catagory of either of the classes named, that we find institutions all over the land, until recently unknown, called "Insane Asylums," and a third class called "Lunatics," while many, in order to avoid either of these catagories, abdicate humanity—commit suicide. Various causes have been assigned as producing results so deplorable. Most generally it is alleged to exist in a want of material prosperity, and that may be and probably is the proximate cause; but, in a country like England, however great her prosperity, the masses do not advance in civilization, because all the profits earned at home and abroad go into the pockets of her aristocracy. To a limited extent they are shared by the so-called gentry, an inferior aristocracy; but to the masses, the millions of her population, all is denied above a meagre subsistence for a life of unremitting toil and industry from the cradle to the grave; and if unable to toil the only alternative is want, destitution, starvation.

The real cause of the disordered and abnormal state of things, resulting in a diseased civilization, of which social and

political evils are the exponents, is to be seen in the *abuse of the taxing power of the government*. It matters not how constructed, with what powers clothed, to conduct its operations money is essential. As it earns no money it must take it out of the pockets of those who earn it, and to this end, since government is essential to the preservation of the social state and to the development of civilization, man, as a social and political being, can not object if the amount be necessary to supply its necessary and legitimate wants, and if the sums taxed be fairly and equitably assessed, collected and disbursed.

But money is no less essential to continue the struggle of civilization than to conduct governmental operations; and all who fall short of the amount needed for this purpose are consigned to one or the other of these classes named, become outlaws and are left without hope and without God in the world. *The cause, to which all others are subordinate and insignificant, of the mendicancy, crime, insanity and suicide, thus degrading and brutalizing humanity, is to be seen in the abuse of the taxing power*, whereby more of the earnings of those who earn the money are taken than is necessary to supply the legitimate wants of the government, leaving not enough in the pockets of those who earn the money to continue the struggle of civilization. I shall, therefore, proceed to make good this assertion by treating in

CHAPTER III.

OF TAXATION AND MONEY.

We have seen government was ordained of God to preserve the social state, in order to perpetuate the race, that the condition of the race might be exalted through the development of civilization; and that to conduct governmental operations and to advance in civilization, or even continue the struggle, money is essential. If, then, government, through the taxing

power, leaves not enough in the pockets of those who earn the money, for such purpose, the very end and object for which government was ordained are defeated, and in defeating the beneficent results designed by the Benignant Being who ordained it, government becomes a curse instead of a blessing. To prevent such abuse of the taxing power under our system of government it is considered *taxation and representation* should go together; that is, that those who pay the taxes should vote, and in this right of suffrage it was believed would be found a guaranty against the oppression and injustice resulting from an abuse of the taxing power. To test the correctness of this opinion it becomes necessary to ascertain *who* pay the taxes. The only accretion of wealth to a community comes from the products of the soil, and these are the results of labor. So it would seem labor in the last analysis pays the tax, because without an accretion of wealth there can be no material prosperity and without material prosperity there can be no money, and no money no taxes for taxes are money levied or collected. And so Mr. Webster must have thought in saying "Labor was the source of all prosperity," and therefore it was the duty of government to give labor encouragement and protection and not to destroy it. Then, if labor pays the tax and those who pay the taxes alone should vote it follows irresistibly that laborers alone should vote. This, however, would be manifestly unjust; for the industries, and they alone, create wealth. It follows, then, as to put the industries in operation requires a combination of labor and money or capital (as money in such case is called), there can be without such combination no accretion of wealth; and if this be true, and there can be no mistake about it, instead of a representation of *persons* upon the principle that taxation and representation should go together, the industries, the great and leading interests of society, including capitalists and laborers, should be represented. I know it will be urged as a control over a man's living is virtually a control over his actions such a representation would be

virtually only a representation of capital. That is to say, unless the laborer voted as the capitalist in whose employ he was, the capitalist would say to the laborer his services were no longer desired. There is no doubt such power has been cruelly exercised, especially by monopolists. But let us take one thing at a time.

I am not now discussing the question as to how contracts between employers and employees should be regulated, nor the rates of wages. The question is to see *how the power of taxation by the government is abused*, and if possible *how to prevent such abuse*. I assert, however, such abuse on the part of employees may be prevented; but of this hereafter. It is not in this way the capitalist will seek to promote his interest through the abuse of the taxing power of the government. He will seek through the taxing power of the government to promote his interest at the expense of some other interest or interests.

For example, the manufacturing capitalist will seek the enactment of laws creating an increase of the customs, taxes, or dues, upon all such articles as he manufactures; because he knows whether it be the producer or consumer some one pays the increased taxes, and thereby he is enabled to sell his goods at an enhanced price. Not only so, he pockets all for which he sells his goods, paying nothing to the government, and that while others are supporting the government he is living by the government, which has become to him a money-making machine. To accomplish this result he will aid the government in breaking down all barriers intended for the limitation and restriction of the taxing power to prevent its abuse.

I am not making these statements to show what a man will do because he is a capitalist, or has money, for so long as our selfish predominate over our social feelings, such will be the result, unless prevented; and if the laborer who complains was in his shoes, he would probably do the same thing. Not only so, rulers are but men, are more selfish than social, and

therefore they will bring the power and patronage of the government to bear on office-holders, for the consummation of such oppression and injustice, for so doing they are not only increasing their revenues, but augmenting their power. And it follows clearly and conclusively if, with a representation of *persons* the taxing power can be, it will be, so long as our selfish predominate over our social feelings, so perverted as to promote one interest at the expense of another.

If representation is to be made to accomplish what it is desired it should, then the interest or industry at whose expense such laws are enacted should be represented to protect itself.

A representation of *interest* would be better than a representation of *persons*, there can be no doubt. Such abuse of the taxing power it is that has given currency to the sayings "power is always stealing from the many to the few," and that "government may be compared to that elementary power in mechanics, the screw, which holds all it gets and is always ready for a new revolution to acquire more."

It is, however, through the artificial industries that disastrous results from the abuse of the taxing power may be more clearly seen, and owing to discoveries and inventions of a more recent date, such industries have become numerous. Let us take the discovery of steam-power in its application to travel and transportation through railways, constructed by the concentration of capital in chartered companies called "corporations." It is true, as alleged, they have greatly enhanced the price of lands through and contiguous to which they pass, but while the enhanced prices increase the taxes upon such lands they were not thereby made more productive. But it was alleged in the facilities thus furnished for the transportation for the products of these lands to more distant markets and these enhanced prices, there would be found ample compensation for any damage the owner of the lands might sustain, and the increased taxes he would have to pay. Instead of which it is alleged such enhanced prices and more

have been consumed in transportation charges. And this I presume in many instances is true. And where efforts have been made by the great agricultural interest, which is the greatest sufferer, to prevent such injustice, amounting in many instances to extortion, it is said through the power and influence of their concentrated capital these corporations have sought to influence elections for the purpose of controlling the law-making power, and have even, as it is alleged, tampered with judicial officers; that through their influence men in high positions have betrayed the most solemn trusts, confided to them by an honest constituency, and laid their country's glory and honor in the dust. And now what? How is this to be explained? From my standpoint the explanation is easy; that the people bargained in good faith for cheap transportation and enhanced prices there can be no doubt, nor is there in my mind any doubt as to the good faith of the other side—the corporators.

But owing to the abuse of the taxing power the country has become impoverished so that when corporators of railway companies formerly sold thousands of tickets they now sell only hundreds, if so many. No money—no material prosperity, people must stay at home. The corporators, as was natural, have sought to protect their interests, and of course wanted to protect their labor. But under the blighting influence of the abuse of the taxing power, paralyzing the industries and pauperizing the people, production is so little in excess of consumption, consumers outnumbering producers, that we may say production has ceased. So that even then powerful corporations, with all their concentrated capital, have been sold out; many having passed into the hands of receivers, while those surviving have been forced to curtail their labor and to reduce the wages of that retained to starvation prices, so that the laborer has found his burden insupportable; and hence, ignoring existing institutions, the laborers in frenzied excitement for redress have, in some of the States, appealed to *force* which has resulted in what in the slang of the day are called *strikes*.

Strikes are conflicts between labor and capital, and unless some corrective be applied we may hear the future audibly announced in the conflicts of the recent past. Hence, we hear railway companies denounced as monopolies, upon which have been conferred exclusive privileges for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. If this be true it is of itself not only a powerful but conclusive argument against a system of representation that would aid to visit such oppression and injustice upon the people, especially the laborers, who, if not the exclusive, are by far the greater sufferers. But all expected, and had a right to expect, a material prosperity unparalleled; instead of which, however, we have been reduced, and in this way, as well as through numberless others, to a poverty represented *through the abuse of the taxing power*, and let it not be forgotten.

Of such abuse comes the public oppression and of the public oppression Rev. Dr. Wayland, President of Brown University, R. I., says: "It drinks up the spirit of a people by inflicting wrong through means of an agency which was created for the sole purpose of preventing wrong; and which was intended to be the ultimate and faithful refuge of the friendless." When the antidote to evil becomes the source of evil what hope for man is left? When society itself sets the example of speculation what shall prevent the individuals of that society from imitating that example? Hence public injustice is always the prolific parent of private violence. The result is, that capital emigrates, production ceases, and a nation either sinks down in utter despondency, or else the people harrassed beyond endurance and believing their condition can not be made worse by any change, rush into all the horrors of civil war; the social elements are dissolved; the sword enters every home; the holiest ties which bind men together are sundered, and no prophet can predict, at the beginning what will be the end."

I do not agree with Dr. Wayland, that a people like ours, so long accustomed to so large a liberty, and until a very re-

cent period blessed with a great and solid material prosperity, will sink down without resistance into a condition of despondency. Such would naturally be the result in England, and in European countries, where the people in passing from feudalism or from domestic servitude, passed into a condition of political servitude, which all know, the world over, is worse than domestic servitude. They will resist the public oppression, but whether successfully or not by *force*, is another question. But having justice and right on their side, if they will put these in the *concrete peaceably*, as they have it in their power to do, in the remedy proposed, they would in so doing achieve the grandest victory in its results for the amelioration and exaltation of the race the world has ever witnessed; not excepting that announced by that celebrated state paper The Declaration of Independence, which was made good by our final victory at Yorktown; and I say to the millions with whom I sympathize, justice and right are truth, and truth is indestructible, but truth in the *abstract* is of little or no value practically. And as all are not in the habit of abstract reasoning as the matter is of transcendent importance, because the difference between life and death is not greater than between truth in the abstract and truth in the concrete, I will illustrate my meaning: Let us then, take for illustration steam power; that is a truth, for you can see it when you put a vessel with water in it and a top on it to boil; steam will raise the top. But of what use? It is a truth, and truth is indestructible. But it is of no practical value in the abstract, yet, when through the devices and contrivances of the steam engine, you put it in the concrete and apply it to purposes of transportation and travel, to diversify pursuits, and to multiply industries, it becomes the most potential power that man can wield in the material world. So when justice and right are put in the concrete, as in the remedy proposed, to *prevent* the abuse of the taxing power, you will be enabled to exert and that peaceably, the most potential power in the political world within your grasp. So heed not to your destruc-

tion, though sorely oppressed, eulogies however numerous, however splendid, in favor of truth in the abstract, in prose or poetry, such as "The eternal years of God are hers; Though crushed to earth 'twill rise again," unless you are in your folly, madness, and infatuation prepared for self-sacrifice—follow not the clamor of faction, the shout of fanaticism, if you do, you are doomed to fall. For while I do not agree with Dr. Wayland as stated, and for reasons stated, I foresee, looking to the future as dependent upon existing causes, that there will be strikes, and the first of a formidable character, as matters now stand, will be between railroad companies and their employees. On behalf of their corporations when these conflicts occur, the government will interfere if needs be, with the strong arm of the military power under the pretense of law and order, life and property. Other laborers will not unite with them, and these railroad laborers will be crushed out in detail, and if others did join, subsistence as well as men are necessary to achieve success; and what could they do without bread, without money? Thus defeated, the people might sink down in hopeless despondency. They would probably be disfranchised. And the people themselves, through terrible oppression, might be brought to place but a low estimate upon what our ancestors considered of inestimable value; for what would *political* rights amount to, if they could not guaranty against starvation?

Yet there is a danger of civil war as Dr. Wayland suggests, not only on account of the public oppression as he suggests; but anon, on account of its invariable concomitant, the private injustice by which all the money and the wealth of the country is concentrating day by day, more and more, in the hands of the few, impoverishing still more the millions, and that too, through the abuse of the taxing power; and presenting a picture of avarice, of wealth, of ambition, groveling and meanly selfish, fearful to contemplate, because so well nigh impossible to resist. Such a state of things in all countries where the people have not been completely degraded

and brutalized evokes sooner or later all the fiendish passions of our nature, and woe! woe!! to the land where these passions burst into a conflagration; for then will

“Naked rebellion with its torch and axe,
Make its wild sport of our blazing homes till
Anarchy comes down on us like night, and
Massacre us in our eternal graves.”

It is in the midst of perils impossible to magnify, fortunate perhaps, that we can not, and if we could, perhaps it would not be wise to lift the veil that shrouds the future.

The extraordinary juncture at which we live demands not only all our wisdom and patriotism, but the guidance of the unseen hand directed by the divine wisdom. Very certain it is institutions hitherto, and at present existing, have become *effete*, and that great and radical changes are demanded.

The remedy herein proposed would be a response to the demands thus created, could be readily applied, would impair no one's rights, would do no one injustice and would prove fully adequate to the ends designed. Yet the evils to be remedied have fastened upon the body-politic and social state, or society, a disease of the most malignant and loathsome character, which has become so deeply rooted and wide spread, that it has imperiled the life of the nation. It has culminated in an indebtedness, public and private, almost universal and demands the most heroic treatment. There is to an honest pride of character, nothing more mortifying than debt. A man may be lion-hearted, but debt muzzles the lion; he may be eagle-eyed, but debt pinions the eagle to the dull earth, though there is a sky to soar in and a sun to gaze upon. It has destroyed the usefulness of the ablest and best of men; when rivited upon a people, such is its tyranny, it never fails to consign them to a condition of utter and hopeless despondency—their minds become dwarfed, imbecile, idiotic, insane, while their bodies become as putrid and festering as if fastened upon by the small-pox or leprosy, and strands them upon the bosom of the dead, dead sea of despotism where death lives and life dies. Such and so great are the calamities visited

upon a people upon whom is rivited an universal indebtedness, through the abuse of the taxing power. Who can doubt that the words pronouncing "*the love of money, the root of all evil,*" were inspired? And this presents the question, what is money? Money is the measure of values fixing the prices of all merchantable articles and exchangeable commodities, if it subserves its legitimate purpose, as dependent as nearly as possible upon the supply and demand of such articles and commodities. Such a measure should be sound and stable, and as fulfilling the required conditions to the best advantage the precious metals, gold and silver, by universal consent have been selected.

Gold and silver never were a *circulating* medium, at least in modern times, for in the early days of modern civilization these metals, whether in the shape of bullion or coin, were deposited in banks at commercial centers and paper certificates of such deposits were used as a circulating medium with bills of exchange. As these deposits were frequently uncalled for for years, this suggested the idea of issuing such certificates when no such deposits had been made, for the purpose, not only of increasing but also of concentrating commerce where these banks of deposit were established. And this suggested the idea of banks of discount whose paper in superceding the necessity for gold and silver in their localities extended the use of certificates and bills of exchange for commercial purposes to the extent the precious metals were represented by them in such localities.

But the history of such banks has been a history of failures; and in their failures have involved the people in their localities, and especially the laboring class, in distress and ruin. Because the gold and silver represented by the circulation of their paper and extending through additional certificates and bills of exchange, commercial transactions had to be withdrawn from commerce to fill up the vacuum created by the failure of such banks. Hence, every financial revulsion resulting from such failures has been followed by

commercial disaster, paralysis of the industries and destruction of labor. It is no argument in favor of the national banks to say they do not fail; so much the greater pity. The reason they do not fail is to be seen in the amount of their exploitation, to use the mildest term, upon labor, getting something for nothing, the banks having to all intents and purposes the power to *tax*—a power conferred exclusively upon the government and most unscrupulously abused by them. And by way of illustration, let us take the report of the retiring president of the First National Bank of Indianapolis, Indiana. He shall speak for the national banks, and here is what he says:

"I congratulate the officers and stockholders of our enterprise. The bank has been in operation 14 years under my control, with a capital stock of \$500,000. In the mean time, it has voluntarily returned \$500,000 of capital stock back to its stockholders besides paying them in dividends \$1,496,240, part of which was in gold; and I now turn it over to you with a capital unimpaired and \$327,000 of the undivided earnings on hand. To this may be added the premiums of United States bonds at present prices, amounting to \$36,000, besides quite a large amount for lost or destroyed bills."

Let us see how the profits look:

Returned to stockholders' capital.....	\$ 500,000
Dividends to stockholders.....	1,496,250
Undivided earnings.....	337,000
Premium on bonds.....	36,000
Lost or destroyed bills.....	24,000
Total.....	<u>\$2,383,250</u>

Only two million three hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and fifty dollars in fourteen years! Who paid these enormous earnings to this one bank? The farmers and the mechanics in the end paid three-fourths, possibly the whole. How long can the people tolerate this system of money-making? How long will it continue to abuse the patience of the tax-payers?

The immediate relief imperatively demanded and so essential to the life of the nation, would be afforded by discharg-

ing the government bonds in the greenback proper. Under the theocratic government the great lawgiver, Moses, required every seventh year a release of all indebtedness. He said release not grudgingly, while every half century lands reverted to the original owners or their descendants—the Jew in fact could sell his land only for forty-nine years. And then our bankrupt laws in modern times are also considered wise and just. But the settlement of the bonds if wholly unjust, which it is not, is demanded by a necessity that knows no laws; it is necessary to preserve the life of the nation. Thus, while lifting an insupportable burden from the backs of the people, there would be furnished a sound and stable currency that would put the industries now paralyzed in successful operation, giving employment to labor. Not only so, it would unfetter commerce, making it all-pervading so that ere long commerce would form the golden circle of the globe, binding the nations of the earth together in the bonds of peace, and there would be achieved the victories of peace, for peace has her victories as well as war. And more: it would be a peace inaugurating the golden age which lies *before* and not *behind* as falsely supposed, and to which an unfettered commerce is an indispensable prerequisite. It would give to that section hitherto the center of the artificial industries an opportunity to add to the splendid eulogy of Burke upon her people another achievement that not only does “every climate bear witness to her toil while every sea is vexed by her fisheries,” in every mart of the commercial world may be seen specimens of her skill and handicraft. How much better this than a policy provoking competition that must if persevered in deprive her of a market at home and abroad? The life of the nation depends upon the preservation of the social state or society. As to the proper course to be pursued no higher authority could be asked or desired than Edmund Burke, and he says: “It is to the property of the system and not to the demand of the creditor of the State the original faith of society is

pledged; the claim of the citizen is prior in time, superior in equity and paramount in title." When the body politic and social state are suffering from the most malignant disease, demanding the most heroic treatment, it is no time to declaim about national honor. One might as well at the bedside of a patient in like condition cry out health, health! instead of remedying the disease. No, no; the true rule, the only rule in such case is,

"Above all to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

The preservation of the life of the nation is paramount to all else.

I fear it is beyond the power of mortal voice to arouse those in whose hands have been concentrated the money and the wealth of the country, through so flagrant an abuse of the taxing power, and so long continued and who wield this tremendous power so potential for evil, to a sense of the difficulties and dangers by which they are surrounded ere it shall be too late. They have already subjected the people to a tyranny that has denied to many of them their heritage from the Lord, in the shape of such temporal blessings, as food, clothing, etc. For proof look at the wonderful profusion of God's blessings, by which we are surrounded, and yet there are millions of people in this land of ours;

—"Of every land the pride,
Beloved by heaven, o'er all the world beside,"

who could not subsist but by public and private benefactions, and if you were to state the case to one who knew not the facts he would involuntarily ask, what pestilence, what famine has swept over the land blighting its prosperity, marring the happiness of its population?

He could not realize that even such a concentration of the money and wealth of the country in the hands of a few could equal in its blighting effects upon the happiness and prosperity of a people the wrath of an offended God. The reason is in subjecting others to so cruel and rapacious a

tyranny they have themselves become the victims of avarice, the most sordid of all vices, absorbing every passion of the mind, every feeling of the heart—the last to see and the first to yield to danger, and which like every other vice, and more than all others, blinds its victims while luring them to their ruin!

The most renowned people of antiquity became involved in war; they lost everything save their country—every one disregarding all obligations to the dead as well as to the living, was wholly for himself, engaged in the greed for gain, the social bonds were loosening, society was disintegrating, the life of the nation was imperiled. At this perilous juncture appears upon the scene the noblest Grecian of them all, with a singleness of devotion, with patriotic emotions inspired by a patriotism that added to a love of country a love of liberty in behalf of his beloved Athens, fast becoming the prey of the most rapacious tyranny on the one hand and of sedition on the other, Pericles addressed his countrymen, and what did he say? “You should, my countrymen, be more mindful of the public calamities. The citizen of a *vital* State will find continually occurring opportunities whereby he may recuperate his losses and retrieve his fortunes; whereas the citizen of a *decaying* State, however prosperous he may be, though he have all that heart could wish, must necessarily, sooner or later, be overwhelmed in the irretrievable ruin, and downfall of his country.”

Tyranny and sedition stood abashed, the greed for gain gave place to a noble philanthropy, confidence was inspired, in the prosperity of all was seen a guaranty of prosperity to each; a new career was commenced that eclipsed in distinction and renown, power and dominion and a material prosperity any ever realized before and shed so bright a halo of glory over the history of that renowned people that when the sun of her destiny did set it went down as the sun that illumined her own bright skies.

“Not as in northern climes obscurely bright,
But in one unclouded blaze of living light.”

Well might a power, the abuse of which has been fraught in all ages with the most calamitous results, command the consideration as it has of the wisest and deepest thinkers. Chief Justice Marshall has declared the power to tax was virtually the power to *destroy*.

To prevent its abuse the reliance has hitherto been upon written Constitutions. And as it is my object not only to vindicate truth in all that has been and may be said in favor of the remedy proposed, but also to dislodge error however deeply entrenched, I shall, therefore, treat in

CHAPTER IV.

OF CONSTITUTION.

What then is Constitution? Constitution is the *supreme* law. In Constitution are defined the powers of rulers, the rights of the people and whatever limitations and restrictions it is sought to impose upon rulers. What is power? Rights when organized or put in the concrete constitute power, the power to govern; and the difference between the rights of rulers and the rights of the people is the rights of rulers in *governments* become organized power, whereas the rights of people together with the restrictions and limitations sought to be imposed upon rulers are defined and clearly defined in the constitution, but not organized in the government as are the rights of rulers constituting power. The rights of the rulers are in the *concrete* in the government, while the rights of the people are in the *abstract* in the constitution. As all are not in the habit of abstract reasoning I will illustrate again the difference between rights in the *concrete* and rights in the *abstract*. For this purpose let us take steam power. When the coffee-pot is put on the fire and boils the top will rise when the water boils. Steam power raises the top, and steam power is a truth and because truth indestructible. This is only an *abstract* truth. But when through the

devices and contrivances of the steam engine steam is directed to purposes of transportation and travel; to diversify pursuits and to multiply industries, it being now in the concrete becomes the most potential power man can control in the material world. And no one can resist this power thus organized, by any pressure of steam, I care not how high such pressure, if unorganized and not in the concrete; for organized power can be successfully resisted only by organized power in the material world, and the principle applies as forcibly in the moral and political world as in the material. Hence, rulers not only exercise their lawful authority, but usurp authority by encroachments upon the rights of the people, and rights whether voluntarily conferred or usurped become organized power in the hands of the rulers. These usurpations, as we have seen, do not commence by an usurpation of the political rights of the people, but by the stealthy encroachment of power through the abuse of the taxing power, as we have seen in the chapter on Taxation and Money, on their industrial rights, crushing their interests and destroying labor. To illustrate: There is the industrial right to pursue the occupation of agricultural industry—a right denied to none even under governments the most despotic. Yet if one cent more than necessary to supply the legitimate wants of the government be taken, to that extent that right is impaired, and if impaired to that extent it may be impaired until destroyed. Hence, as Chief Justice Marshall said, the right to tax is virtually the right to destroy. Such usurpations may continue until all industrial rights are impaired to such an extent as to destroy labor. How is the laborer to resist? His industrial rights are but vaguely if at all recognized in the government. Can he rely upon his political rights? These are recognized in the constitution but not organized in the government. And hence if he resist at all he must resist by force. But to make forcible resistance successful requires not only men but subsistence or bread and money. Through the industries alone he could earn bread

and money. These industrial rights and interests, however, have been destroyed and crushed so far as he is concerned, for his earnings have, through the abuse of the taxing power been taken by the government, and hence, it is, such resistance is rarely successful.

The reason is, there is a *vis inertia* to be overcome which is always more or less difficult to do, for many and powerful reasons. Men greatly prefer peace to war, strife and bloodshed. Besides they are taught to rely upon truth and justice and the protection they should guarantee to political and as a consequence to their industrial rights. But as we have seen, these in the abstract are of little or no practical value. And hence it is only when the injustice and oppression become insupportable that men resist and then it is too late for the reasons stated, and thus it is shown that a reliance upon constitution merely is but a snare and delusion. Not only so, though constitution be the supreme law it is as any other law—"a rule of action" only. No laws, however, enforce themselves. For their enforcement agencies, and instrumentalities are required. For the enforcement of the common and statute law, law-makers provide the agencies and instrumentalities, such as courts, juries, sheriffs, etc. But who can provide the agencies and instrumentalities for the supreme law? The constitution is above the law-makers. They may enact laws for the avowed purposes of carrying out or enforcing the provisions or powers of the constitution; but what is there to make such laws in accordance with or in obedience to the constitution in its letter and spirit? The oaths of law-makers, it is said, who are sworn to support the constitution. Admitting an oath binds the conscience, does it give the intellect the discernment of its true meaning and intent? Certain it is oaths never gave uniformity to the conclusions of law-makers; and while the conclusions of some may be right, the different conclusions of others must be wrong; and whether the conclusion of the minority or majority be right or wrong it is impossible to say with

absolute certainty. So that in the binding efficacy of oaths however conscientious law-makers may be there is no guaranty of an enforcement of the constitution in its letter and spirit. And hence it is that throughout all time constitutions have been to those who have relied upon them only a snare and delusion with one solitary exception; and that became vital and efficient when other devices for its enforcement had superceded the ministration of oaths. I mean the great charter—the Magna Charta—the British constitution. Appendix (A), end of this work, is a digested history of the great charter from a most able and profound writer, extending through a period of two hundred years, and more; showing just as often as sworn to for its observance, just so often it was violated during the period stated. And afterwards when oaths were superceded by other devices or contrivances substituted to enforce its observance, for seven centuries it has not been violated. The question then becomes, *Where were these devices found? What were they?* They were found in the structure or organism of the government and consisted in the representation of the *industries*—the great and leading *interests* of society instead of a representation of *persons* with the ministration of oaths. The history of this celebrated State paper is briefly this: It was extorted from King John, a weak and imbecile prince on the plains of Runnymede. And as the only means then known, for its enforcement the king was sworn to its observance; and in case of its violation the remedy provided was force. Just as in the case of our own constitution, and of every other one before or since, the consequence of violated oaths, real or supposed, has been force. I have said as in the case of our own, and I know it will be denied by those who contend that the Supreme court is in such cases the arbiter, and the final arbiter. To establish the position assumed let us suppose a law for the assessment and collection of taxes for revenue far beyond the necessary and legitimate wants of the government. To raise a revenue for defraying

the necessary and legitimate expenses of the government is constitutional.

How is the validity of such an act to be tested before the Supreme court. That court would look to the constitution and see Congress had the power to enact laws for raising a revenue to defray the expenses of the government. To which it would be replied, that is very true; but this law while nominally raising a revenue to defray such expenses in as much as the amount raised is far in excess of the necessary expenses, a flagrant violation and abuse of the taxing power. What would, what must that tribunal reply? That it is a matter within the discretion of Congress, the law-making department, and as to how little may be necessary and proper in the way of taxes is a question of which this tribunal cannot take jurisdiction; yet upon this very question turns the validity, the justice, the constitutionality of the law. So that the source and origin of all unjust and oppressive legislation, the abuse of the taxing power is not within the jurisdiction of the Supreme court. Not only so, it is well known to all lawyers that in technical language that tribunal, according to the science of jurisprudence or law can have jurisdiction only in cases of law and equity, and they know the case supposed is one neither of law nor equity in the technical sense of the term. Not only so; if it were, it would not be a fit tribunal; not only because its members are but men, and in all men the selfish feelings predominate, they live by the taxes and could not or would not put themselves in the place of those who pay the taxes. Besides all this, however, we have a very striking proof of all contended for in a very recent case involving the conflicting claims of candidates for the office of President, and on account of which the whole country was brought to the very verge of civil strife. Was not this august tribunal, in a case of the greatest magnitude involving constitutional questions of the very gravest import, by common consent ignored as wholly unfit to enforce the constitution? It would have been

no less absurd for the Supreme court to have undertaken to decide this case than the case supposed of an abuse of the taxing power. To show still more forcibly the folly of relying upon the ministration of oaths, as if judges were more than mortals, let us take the case of the joint commission consisting of an *odd* instead of an *even* number of judges, just as if oaths were intended to ignore truth and justice. Had the number been even truth and justice would have been the umpire, for men of views, however opposed, could not or would not have invoked wrong and falsehood. In fact, was not the constitution itself as well as truth and justice ignored in the creation of this commission?

Let us, however, proceed with the history of the charter. We have stated what the contrivances were for superceding the ministration of oaths. Until then the king whenever he wanted money would disregard his oath and violate the charter to obtain it, and as the only remedy was force, the result was strife and bloodshed. This state of things, however, taxed severely the patience of each party, and it was finally agreed the king should state what money was needed and how it was to be disbursed, and a third party consisting of those engaged in agriculture, commerce and manufactures should say how much they could pay. No one anticipated the result, which was the organization of the British government by the establishment of the House of Commons, this third party constituting its members with the power to say what taxes should be collected and how, when collected they should be disbursed. The king was no longer required to take the oath to observe the charter, but was given to understand unless he observed the charter he could get no *money*. From that day to this, extending through centuries, the charter has never been violated. It must be borne in mind, however, that modern institutions have been constituted upon the ruins of the feudal system and to a great extent the material furnished for such structure has been obtained from the wreck and debris of that system.

Hence, in the British government *persons*, the privileged class, are represented in the House of Peers; while the king in his person represents the prerogatives of the crown. Besides, under the Feudal system the bulk of the population were serfs, really slaves in domestic servitude. Upon the false assumption that those only who held property paid taxes, those serfs generally owning none when relieved from their serfdom were left in a condition of political servitude, being denied the right of suffrage, which the world over, is worse than domestic servitude. Hence it is, although through the representation of interests in the House of Commons political rights are guaranteed to the masses; yet owing to the representation of *persons* in the Peers, and in the crown their industrial rights are so crushed all the earnings of their industry and toil, go into the pockets of the aristocracy so that the government itself is to all beneath the gentry, an inferior aristocracy, represented through their interests in the House of Commons, a Dead sea despotism to the millions.

Now the people of the United States repudiate privileged classes and political servitude in the universal right of suffrage, and recognizing the fact that whether laborers have property or not labor pays the taxes, and that therefore laborers should vote upon the principle that taxation and repudiation should go together. They, however, rely upon the ministration of oaths to support the constitution, the fallacy of which has been shown, and upon constitution as a guaranty of political rights the fallacy also of which has been shown, for the charter or constitution was not the guaranty of political rights, but the *structure* of the House of Commons in enforcing the constitution became the bulwark of English liberty. Universal suffrage and the constitution with the ministration of oaths, as shown, are no guaranty of industrial rights, and if no guaranty of industrial rights is no guaranty of political rights. All of which the history of the great charter abundantly proves. It is to the representation of persons instead of interests in governments and to which

our own is no exception, that through the abuse of the taxing power has been engendered these evils now sought to be remedied, and the threatened conflicts now sought to be prevented. While the government through suitable devices and contrivances may give vitality to constitution and enforce an observance of the rights of the people and restrictions sought to be imposed upon rulers; it follows as a corollary, constitution can neither create nor control government.

Such attempts have been numerous, but failure has been the invariable result; a truth confirmed not only by the history of the charter but also by our own history, as I shall now proceed to show. The colonial governments were established by the British government, and charters furnished by that government as rules of action for these colonies. Notice these colonial governments were not established by charters or constitutions. When the colonies repudiated the authority of Britain they substituted with one exception constitutions as rules of action in place of their charters. And the colonies becoming States established a confederation with articles of confederation as a rule of action, and afterwards the States established the government of the United States with a constitution as a rule of action. Through the influence of Mr. Jefferson and others the first series of amendments was adopted. Read in the light of history and of the Virginia and the Kentucky Resolutions of '98 and '99, and Mr. Madison's Report thereon, their objects may be understood. Every object sought to be accomplished when put to the test has failed; especially the leading object, which was to perpetuate the Federal system, the Union; for all know the Union has been superseded by the Nation. The second series were *not* declaratory of the Nation as an accomplished fact, but if entirely oblivious of the wonderful work that had been wrought, though patent to all, merely extended the right of suffrage to the emancipated slaves in recognition of the fact we may suppose that without such right they would be in a condition of political servitude, worse than that from which (domestic servitude) they had been emancipated.

The elective franchise, however, it is even now claimed by some should be limited; while others think, the voters, especially non-property holders, and illiterate persons should be wholly disfranchised, alleging as a reason its licentious exercise in that they will sell their votes to candidates who will buy their votes. If so, can the representative be better than those who elect him? And are we not authorized to conclude that he who will buy another's vote will sell his own? In fact the cupidity, vice and profligacy of rulers are and ever have been more conspicuous than the licentiousness of the people. And the objection, if good at all, goes to the whole plan of representation and against a government of Free Form. Without the elective franchise universal suffrage it is idle to speak of government of the Free or Republican Form. Yet, while, as I admit and contend, the right of suffrage is not of itself sufficient it is *indispensable* as the foundation of all other rights.

The defect is not in the elective franchise, but the defect is in a government constructed in reference to political instead of industrial rights, with a representation of persons instead of a representation of interests. Wherever then government fails from defects in its conservative elements becoming *effete* it follows as a second corollary that mere amendments to constitution however numerous, however ably devised, will not suffice—cannot remedy defects—cannot substitute that which is vital for that which has become *effete*. To this end new governmental contrivances and devices are absolutely essential and are imperatively demanded. For the purpose of suggesting such devices and contrivances I shall proceed to treat in

CHAPTER V.
OF THE PROPER ORGANISM OR STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT.

If what has been said in the preceeding chapters it is owing to the abuse of the taxing power in governments constructed in reference to political rights with a representation of persons resulting in the public oppression and private injustice that develop social and political Evils. And this presents the question, Can government be so formed as to organize the people's rights so as to prevent such public oppression and private justice? I undertake to say it can be done, and done without shock or convulsion, without impairing any one's rights, without doing any injustice. In such an organization is found a solution of the most important and at the same time the most difficult problem ever presented by civilization for governmental solution how so to limit and restrict the taxing power as to prevent its abuse? The law-making department of the government is the most important; in fact all in all. Instead then of being composed of Senators of so-called States and of Representatives nominally of the people, let this department be composed of three houses: one the Agricultural House, another the Commercial House of Representatives, and the third the Manufacturing and Mechanical House of Representatives. Let those engaged in agricultural pursuits be enrolled in each of the States and an apportionment of representation made as is now made for Representatives; the numbers, in population for each representative should be large enough to prevent too numerous a representation for mature deliberation and reflection; these representatives to be elected by those who are engaged in agricultural pursuits will constitute the Agricultural House of Representatives, and in like manner let the Commercial House of Representatives be constituted, being representatives of those engaged in commercial pursuits.

And in like manner let those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, which being so much alike may be reckoned as one, elect representatives, to constitute the Third House of Representatives, those three houses constituting the Law-making Department. Let, then, the agricultural representatives enact such measures as they think would promote that interest and of which they would be the best judges, identified as they are with that interest; and on which a majority should decide because a majority could not oppress a minority identified with it in interest. Let it be required, however, for the enactment of any such measure into a law that a majority of each of the other two houses should concur in the same.

It is very evident that any measure which would promote the interests of agriculture would also indirectly if not directly promote the commercial and the manufacturing and mechanical interests and they would of course concur in the enactment of such measures *provided* such measures did not in promoting the agricultural interest operate unjustly and oppressively upon them. In such case they would not and ought not to concur. In thus promoting the interests of each the interests of *all* would be promoted. In like manner let measures be adopted in the other house requiring a like concurrence for their enactment as laws. The absolute numerical majority may pass any measure not only because a majority cannot oppress a minority identified with it in interest, but also for dispatch in business. The concurrent majority principle is adopted because one interest could not in such case oppress another which, if it could it would so long as our selfish feelings predominate; and because such concurrence would prevent hasty and injudicious legislation; and not only so, such concurrence would give endurance and stability to government. In favor of the concurrent majority principle too much cannot be said, while the history of the world bears testimony to the fact that no government based upon the absolute numerical majority principle has been known to last

through one generation. The industrial rights and industrial interests of these three great and leading interests would be *protected* and *promoted*, and not only so, all other industrial rights and interests would be thereby protected and promoted because all other industrial rights and interests of society flow from one or the other of these great and leading interests or some combination of them, and since the elective franchise lies at the foundation of all other rights, universal suffrage should be allowed; therefore, let those not engaged in either of these great and leading pursuits enroll themselves at their option with either one of them and vote accordingly. And while it is very certain those identified in interest would know best what would promote their interest, as all interests are more or less dependent upon a system of wise and judicious laws it might be advisable to have representative men learned in the professions. I would not make a prohibition excluding any one from such right having all the qualifications that might be prescribed for representative men aside from their pursuit. It is also very certain that money is essential to conduct governmental operations. It is also certain through government alone can the social state be preserved and civilization be fostered and developed. Since those connected with the industries constitute the overwhelming portion of the population it is certain for the preservation of the social state and the development of civilization and having the right under the structure proposed to do so, will not only from interest but also from necessity vote sufficient revenues for all necessary and legitimate purposes, and not only so, but to these ends see the moneys thus collected properly disbursed. Above all, since the industries alone create wealth, and wealth begets material prosperity, and material prosperity begets material aid, money; those then who earn the money pay the taxes; and in the language of the immortal Burke, unless they who pay the taxes have the right not only to say what taxes they will pay and how they shall be disbursed have not a shadow of

liberty left; because there is no such thing as liberty in the abstract, and that liberty inheres in the principle of taxation. So that under the structure of government proposed liberty which throughout the measureless past as in the living present has been and is man's pleasing hope, his fond desire, would be preserved; and while we would enjoy its blessings would transmit it unimpaired to those who come after us. Not only so, with the blessings of liberty would be guaranteed the protection of life and property and the pursuit of happiness. For while enough would be given out of the pockets of those who earn the money to conduct governmental operations enough would be retained to enable them to advance in civilization, thus guarantying happiness, for happiness as liberty exists not in the abstract, but it is to be found only in some of the varied pursuits of life whereby man advances in civilization the happiness consisting in ameliorating and improving his condition and also in ameliorating the condition of the race and exalting humanity. And thus would be accomplished, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, all our ancestors desired—the protection of life and property, the enjoyment of the blessings of liberty and the perpetuation of them and the pursuit of happiness. Not only so; in giving enough to conduct governmental operations and retaining enough to advance in civilization the *taxing power is limited and restricted so as to prevent its abuse; thereby remedying Evils, Social and Political*, in preventing the public oppression; and in preventing the public oppression its invariable concomitant, the private injustice by which the wealth and money of the country are concentrated, in the hands of the few, is prevented, and thereby is prevented the threatened conflicts between the few, the capitalists, and the many, the laborers.

And in the solution of the problem; how so to limit and restrict the taxing power as to prevent its abuse, is seen the remedy and preventative proposed. To apply which all that it would be necessary to do would be to observe the course

prescribed by the constitution, and either through the two Houses of Congress, as now constituted, or which would be better through a convention called for the purpose strike out the law-making department in the constitution and insert the measure proposed.

It is easier in the physical world to hold a heavy body in equilibrium with an odd than an even number of forces, so in the moral and political world; therefore, not only for this reason but also because the patronage of a chief executive would necessarily confer upon him great power I would deprive the chief magistrate as in France of the *veto* power in the enactment of laws allowing him, however, for reasons unnecessary to state, the *pardonning* power. Besides professedly representing all interests, the selfish feelings predominating he would at last represent the money power as representatives of persons have hitherto done and do now. Such other alterations as may be required will be of minor importance, and will readily suggest themselves.

We have seen with such a representation of the industries as proposed, the preservation of liberty is guaranteed and if so there is necessarily a guaranty of political rights. Political rights, however, are but the fruits and flowers of the tree of liberty, and although its roots have been watered by the blood of heroes and of martyrs its vitality, its life inheres in the principle of taxation. Hence, it is the efforts of the good and great of the past have been a history of failures, because they have bestowed their efforts upon the preservation of political rights ignoring industrial rights. Whereas, so far as the structure of government and the preservation of liberty are concerned industrial rights far transcend in importance political rights. The history of the world shows not an instance where political rights have been trampled under foot until industrial rights had been crushed. I say until industrial *rights* have been crushed; for the industries may flourish for centuries, as in England, yet the laborer is so effectually robbed under the sanction of law of his earnings,

all of which beyond a meager subsistence, as a general rule, go into the pockets of the aristocracy; so that although the industries do flourish the laborer is cruelly oppressed. The question then might well be asked What more, so far as the proposed structure of government is concerned, could be desired? It has been said by one of the purest and ablest of men that so much can be said in its favor while so little can be said against it, that but for the necessity of removing the wreck and debris of effete institutions he did not believe there would be one voice against its adoption.

Having shown that the reconstruction proposed would remedy existing evils, social and political, if adopted, and that in remedying these evils it would also prevent conflicts between capital and labor. I shall proceed to show that the structure proposed embodies the principles essential to all governments worthy the name, and so embodies them as to preserve and perpetuate government of the Free Form.

Government in the *abstract* is ordained of God. It should be so constructed in the concrete that it may preserve the social state in order to perpetuate the race and that the individuals composing the social state may develop civilization. To these ends individuals confederating together constitute the social state; and individuals composing the social state form the body-politic, and the individuals of the body-politic form the State, Nation, or People. To preserve each, the social state and body-politic government is essential. In the body-politic the national principle inheres. In the social state the federative principle inheres; and as government includes both the social state and body-politic these principles necessarily inhere in government. If, however, the national principle exclusively dominates we have an unmitigated despotism, and all individuality in the members composing the social state, at least the vast majority of them, would be crushed so, as to the masses, there would be little or no development of civilization. If the Federative principle exclusively dominates we should have anarchy, a mobocracy;

the social state would disintegrate and there could be no development of civilization. It is then plain the nearer these principles exist in equilibrium in the government the highest civilization would be developed, and hence, where such equilibrium more nearly exists the more excellent the government. These principles are co-existent with government. They were in conflict centuries ago on the plains of Greece, when the battles of Marathon and Plataea were fought.

They may be readily recognized. The exponents of the national principle are money, power, dominion, and the sword is its ensign. The exponents of the Federative principle are liberty, labor, the industries, and peace is its ensign. To any government of the Free form, as Dr. Wayland asserts, and to which all must agree, a constitution that shall guaranty against the public oppression (and as a consequence I will add against the private) is absolutely essential. It has been conclusively shown such constitution must depend for its efficacy and vitality to answer the ends designed upon a structure not as heretofore in reference to political rights, but upon the structure as proposed in reference to industrial rights. Not only because through such structure material prosperity is assured in preventing the abuse of the taxing-power; but because in that structure also the national and federal principles exist, but in a nicely adjusted equilibrium and as beautifully and as harmoniously blended as were the white and red roses of England whereby were ended the seemingly endless wars of Plantagenets and Tudors; while through the concurrent majority principle in the stability and endurance of the government in the prosperity of the people will be assured an enduring peace. Why not then apply the remedy in the reconstruction proposed?

I know it is difficult to realize the necessity for change, however imperatively demanded in institutions under which we have acquired material prosperity, power, and dominion, distinction and renown. I shall, therefore, proceed to show

owing to the re-actionary influence of discoveries and inventions, especially in those of a more recent date, upon the moral and political world, that great and radical changes in institutions hitherto existing are inevitable and not with us a matter of choice. As these discoveries and inventions have been graphically enumerated and their probably destined results forcibly stated by a most able and profound thinker, I shall present his views in

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE JUNCTURE AT WHICH WE LIVE.

To a clear understanding, however, of the situation we shall trace the causes developing a juncture second only in the magnitude of its destined results and of those already accomplished to that marked by the advent of the Messiah. But as these causes have been graphically enumerated by another we shall present them to the reader in his language:

"They will, upon investigation, be found in the many discoveries and inventions made in the past few centuries."

Among the most prominent of those of an earlier date stand the practical application of the magnetic power to the purpose of navigation, by the invention of the mariner's compass; the discovery of the mode of making gun-powder, and its application to the art of war; and the invention of the art of printing. Among the more recent are the numerous chemical and mechanical discoveries, and inventions, and their application to the various arts of production, the application of steam to machinery of almost every description, especially such as is designed to facilitate transportation and travel by land and water; and finally the invention of the magnetic telegraph. All these have led to important results. Through the invention of the mariner's compass the globe has been circumnavigated and explored, and all who

inhabit it, with but few exceptions, brought within the sphere of an all-pervading commerce, which is daily diffusing over its surface the light and blessings of civilization. Through that of the art of printing the fruits of observation and reflection, of discoveries and inventions, with all the accumulated stores of acquired knowledge, are preserved and widely diffused. The application of gun-powder to the arts of war, has forever settled the long conflict for ascendancy between civilization and barbarism, in favor of the former, and thereby guaranteed that, whatever knowledge is now accumulated, or may hereafter be added, shall never again be lost. The numerous discoveries and inventions, chemical and mechanical, and the application of steam to machinery, have increased many fold, the productive powers of labor and capital, and have, thereby, greatly increased the number who may devote themselves to study and improvement, and the amount of means necessary for commercial exchanges, especially between the more and the less advanced and civilized portions of the globe, to the great advantage of both, but particularly of the latter. The application of steam to the purposes of travel and transportation, by land and water, has vastly increased the facility, cheapness and rapidity of both; diffusing with them, information and intelligence, almost as quickly and as freely as if borne by the winds, while the electrical wires outstrip them in velocity, rivaling, in rapidity, even thought itself.

The joint effect of all has been a great increase and diffusion of knowledge, and, with this an impulse to progress and civilization heretofore unknown, unexampled in the history of the world, accompanied by a mental energy and activity unprecedented.

To all these causes public opinion, and its organ, the press, owe their origin and great influence. Already they have attained a force in the more civilized portions of the globe, sufficient to be felt by all governments, even the most absolute and despotic. But as great as they now are, they have

as yet attained nothing like their maximum force. It is probable, that not one of the causes, which have contributed to their formation and influence, has yet produced its full effect; while several of the most powerful have just begun to operate; and many others, probably of equal or even of greater force, yet remain to be brought to light.

When the causes now in operation have produced their full effect, and inventions and discoveries shall have been exhausted, if that can ever be they will give a force to public opinion, and cause changes, political and social, difficult to be anticipated. What will be their final bearing time only can decide with any certainty. That they will, however, greatly improve the condition of man, ultimately, it would be impious to doubt. It would be, to suppose that the all-wise and benignant Being, the Creator of all, had so constituted man as that the employment of the high intellectual faculties with which He has been pleased to endow him, in order that he might develop the laws that control the great agents of the material world, and make them subservient to His use, would prove to Him a cause of permanent evil, and not permanent good. If then such a suggestion be inadmissible, they must in their orderly and full development end in his permanent good. But this cannot be unless the ultimate effect of their action, politically, shall be to give ascendancy to that form of government best calculated to fill the ends for which government is ordained. For so completely does the well-being of our race depend on good government that it is hardly possible that any change, the ultimate effect of which should be otherwise, could prove to be a permanent good.

It is, however, not improbable that many and great, but temporary evils will follow the changes they have effected, and are destined to effect. It seems to be a law in the political as well as in the material world, that great changes cannot be made, except very gradually, without convulsions and revolutions, to be followed by calamities in the beginning, however beneficial they may prove to be in the end. The

first effect of such change on long established governments, will be to unsettle the principles in which they originated, and which have guided their policy before, those which the changes are calculated to form and establish, are fairly developed and understood. The interval between the decay of the old, and the formation and establishment of the new, constitutes a period of transition, which must always of necessity be one of uncertainty, confusion, error, and wild and fierce fanaticism.

The governments of the more advanced and civilized portions of the world are now in the midst of this period. It has proved and will continue to prove a sore trial to existing political institutions of every form. Those governments which have not the sagacity to perceive what is public opinion, to distinguish between it and the mere clamor of faction or shouts of fanaticism, and the good sense and firmness to yield timely and cautiously, to the claims of the one and to resist, promptly and decidedly, the demands of the other, are doomed to fall. Few will be able, successfully, to pass through this period of transition; and these not without shocks and modifications more or less considerable. It will endure until the governed and the governing shall better understand the ends for which government is ordained.

CHAPTER VII.

WHY LOUIS NAPOLEON WROTE HIS LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

Louis Napoleon recognized the fact that we were in the midst of a *transition* period in its broadest sense; that it would be a severe test of all existing institutions, and that either for better or for worse changes were inevitable. He sought in his life of Cæsar to inculcate the lesson, to deduce the conclusion, that all republics, sooner or later, would necessarily culminate in military despotisms. If he could turn the public opinion of France in that direction (since public opinion

at last it is that governs the world), then France, having a constitutional monarchy, capable of amendments, and therefore preferable to a despotism, would forego her hopes and aspirations for a republic, and he thereby would establish his throne and perpetuate his dynasty.

He makes the false assumption that it seems almost every one does, that the cause of the failure of the Roman republic was the unfitness of the people, their incapacity to live under a government of that form. They had established their republic; had lived under it for centuries; had acquired power and distinction, renown and dominion. They were the same people when the empire was inaugurated as while living under the republic, and at no period in the history of that renowned people did brighter names adorn their annals than at the period of the death-struggle of the republic. There were Cato, Cicero, Brutus, and hosts of others, whose patriotism burned within the very portals of the tomb. And if the people were licentious those in power were vicious, profligate and noted for their cupidity. So that if the people were unfit to be the citizens of a republic the rulers were unfit to rule. The truth is the real cause lay in defective government.

So the objection applies to rulers as forcibly as to the people, and under governments of all forms far more forcibly does the objection apply to the rulers than to the ruled. The truth is the defect, the causes of the failure lay in the government; not in its form, but in its effete organism. The tribunitial was the conservative element of their government. Upon its adoption it proved to be a *peaceable* remedy, when the only remedy before was *force*, and resulting in continual strife between the Patricians and the Plebians, and its adoption secured peace. This simple contrivance, gave to the people, through their tribunes, officers elected by themselves, the power to veto laws enacted by the Patricians. Their interests were thus harmonized, and from insignificance the Romans became in power and dominion

the most formidable people on the globe. In the progress of events, and owing to the changes wrought by their rise from insignificance to the very pinnacle of power and dominion, and their progress in civilization, that element ceased to subserve the purpose it had in the past. There was therefore a necessity for new contrivances and devices to enable it to subserve the valuable purpose it had in the past, or the substitution of something in its place equally as conservative as that had been. This necessity the truly patriotic failed to perceive. As was natural, they felt attached to the government under which they had acquired such power and distinction, renown and dominion, and material prosperity, and sought to preserve it as it was, as it had been, notwithstanding its Agrarian laws, its bloody factions contending for the supremacy, and rapidly approaching anarchy. Cæsar said *force* was essential to government to preserve itself. Amid the uncertainty and confusion, violence and bloodshed, the fanaticism and paralysis of leaders and people, events were rapidly accelerating the final result. Their progress brooked no delay, and the empire was inaugurated. It was not due to the personal character of Cæsar, nor was it Cæsar that inaugurated the empire. It was the inevitable progress of events from the effetism of the tribunitial element, nothing conservative being substituted in its stead. Did space permit, it would not be difficult to show why the tribunitial element became effete. But it will be well to observe that under the empire it played no part, passed into disuse, and it would be far more logical to conclude the fault or defect lay in the government, and not in the people. Let us note, too, the result of the tribunitial power, a *peaceable* remedy, and *force* as a remedy of the empire. True we say the empire flourished most under Augustus, and that is true; but the people never prospered under the empire, nor had the government such prestige under the rule of Emperors, as during the republic, and when the empire flourished at all, it was in consuming the fruits of the republic. From the adoption of the tribunitial element, the peaceable remedy, the genius

of Rome became in the ascendant, and she became the mistress of the world. Upon the effetism of such peaceable remedy and the substitution of *force* disintegration and decay commenced and continued until the mistress of the world became a mere tributary power. The peaceable remedy elevated while the remedy of force degraded.

I am well aware, however, that the disordered and abnormal state of things at present, and for years past existing, is considered as the result exclusively of the war between the sections, Northern and Southern. That we shall sooner or later retrieve our losses and recuperate our fortunes, and that when we shall have recovered from the miseries and calamities of war, the desolation and destruction it has wrought, this disordered and abnormal state of things will cease to exist. Such has often been the healing effects of time upon the ruin thus wrought. It will be shown, however, that owing to the *effetism* in institutions hitherto and at present existing, brought about by the causes so forcibly assigned, changes imperatively demanded, and that failing or refusing to make them, the war was a *consequence*, and therefore not the cause of this disordered and abnormal state of things; that before the war, in fact, everything conservative in the government of Washington had become *effete*; and for this purpose I shall briefly review in

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AS IT WAS AND AS IT IS.

It is well known that in the convention of 1787, Gen. Hamilton was a leading member. His idea was a general or central government, ignoring the States as free and independent sovereignties, and regarding them as corporations with municipal rights. In this it is believed he was sustained by General Washington and others of the ablest men in the convention.

But as they proceeded they found it impossible to organize *in* the government they proposed to establish any guaranty of political rights, such, for example, as those designated in the Great Charter, and equally impossible *in the organism* of the government to establish any device or contrivance whereby to enforce such limitations and restrictions as they sought to impose on rulers. This was the impossibility, the great problem. Could they rely upon the efficacy of written constitutions? It would be easy to define such limitations and the political rights of the people in constitutions, but all experience went to show how signally all such experiments had failed; and especially in modern times; in the history of the Great Charter of England, defining political rights, extending through a period of two hundred years and more, they saw how hopeless such a reliance must be unless such rights could be given a place *in the organism of government* itself. For until the House of Commons was established with power to say what taxes should be collected and how they should be disbursed, and the observance of the rights enumerated in the Charter became a condition *precedent* to the collection and disbursement of the taxes, that celebrated State paper, the British Constitution, was in fact of no value.

But when rulers understood they could get no money unless the Great Charter was respected, the rights enumerated were no longer violated, encroached upon, or usurped. They knew, too, such remedy—no, not such remedy, but—such preventive was a guaranty of *peace*. They saw, too, when it was adopted how rapidly that people rose to power and distinction, renown and dominion, and acquired material prosperity. They knew, too, when in ancient times the tribunitial device became a part of the organism of the Roman republic, without any constitution, *peace* became a ruling element, strife and bloodshed ceased between Patricians and Plebians, and that the genius of Rome became in the ascendant, and finally made her mistress of the world. They knew, too, when that element of the Roman government became effete, or ceased to

perform its functions in the action of the government, and for want of new devices or contrivances to subserve the purpose which that had, and *force* being substituted therefor, how the fortunes of that mighty and renowned people declined, went down, until finally the mistress of the world became a mere tributary power.

For the reasons stated they recoiled from the work of their hands. What greater compliment could be paid to the ability and patriotism of the men of that convention? Theirs was a patriotism most noble and distinctive, a patriotism that added to a love of country a love of liberty. Then it was, believing it necessary that something should be done, that Messrs. Ellsworth and Sherman, of Connecticut, and Judge Patterson, of New Jersey, became the architects of the government formed, and the constitution as its rule of action, the supreme law. They looked to the States whose organized power would resist any encroachment or usurpation on the part of the common government and preserve inviolate the supreme law, the constitution as was believed. But when their action was submitted for ratification, divisions became plainly manifest. Fears prevailed in both sections of the country as to which would control the balance of power, and originated the opposition to the action of the convention. Their action, however, was ratified. It soon became apparent that the restraining and controlling power of the States combined and united was impossible, and that the conservative power of the system lay, not in the union of the States, but in an equal division of the States, preserving the equilibrium of the sections: divisions created by diverse industrial interests. This is clearly manifest from the fact that when Kentucky applied for admission into the Union, the northern section having no new territory for admission, Vermont was taken from New York to preserve the equilibrium of the sections. And so when Missouri applied for admission Maine was taken from Massachusetts to offset Missouri; and the equilibrium was preserved until finally the admission of

California alone by itself gave the ascendancy to the Northern section. And the equilibrium of the States being really the conservative element, was destroyed. I purposely omit mention of the repeated bitter contests between the sections during this period, for I desire to evoke neither passion nor prejudice, but to advocate truth in the spirit of truth. It became, however, more and more painfully manifest, that, with the *effacement* or destruction of the conservative element, there would come a day of terrible reckoning. The question became who shall control the action of the common government? Each section strove with an energy and ability commensurate with the magnitude of the stakes in the issue involved. The common or central government could make no encroachments or usurpations on itself. It was the creature of the States, and the States, in order to control it, surrendered to it their rights, and becoming organized power in the common government, the States controlling it, could control the other States so as to promote their own interests.

By a singular fatuity the Southern States, with one exception, and professedly the champions of the Federal system to which the sovereignty of the States was essential, and knowing in the progress of events theirs must become the weaker section, sanctioned in the common government the rights, coupled with the power to coerce a State. In voting supplies in men and money they sanctioned the appeal to force.

Strange to say into this contest they entered and apparently from choice, although it was then patent to all she was doomed to be, sooner or later, the minority section. Stranger still, the Southern States, with one exception, not only sanctioned the right coupled with the power of the common government to *coerce by force*—military power. Not only so, these States adopted the *Convention* system for nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, and seconded the same by the *general ticket* system for nominating candidates for Electors in

order to insure the vote of their States to the candidates for President and Vice-President thus nominated.

The policy thus adopted and carried out, swept within the vortex of the Presidential contest the power and patronage of the States. The States were not only thus shorn of the restraining influences they might have exerted on the common government, but to the extent they were thus weakened, the common government was strengthened, for the offices of the States were within the reach of those who, not only sanctioned this precedent and policy, but who also favored the Presidential candidate for whom the vote of the State was cast; thus subjecting the States, through their officers, to the common government. This precedent for the precedent of to-day becomes the law of to-morrow, and this policy effectually destroyed the Federal system, and, of course, the Union; and extorted from Mr. Calhoun the declaration, "if we now raise our eyes to view this beautiful system, composed of so many various separate and independent parts blended into one harmonious whole, we shall be struck with the mighty change! All are gone, absorbed, concentrated, consolidated in this. ("The common") government which is left alone in the midst of the desolation of the system, the sole and unrestricted representative of an absolute and despotic majority." Absolute and despotic, why? Because sovereignty must reside somewhere. In a Republic, or government of the Free Form, sovereignty must reside in the people; and, since it does not reside in the people of the different States respectively, it must reside in the people taken *en masse*. A numerical majority, then, can decide all questions pertaining to sovereignty, and, of course, all minor questions. This, then, become a numerical majority government, and no such government has ever been known to exist through one generation; and it was from the tyranny and oppression of such a government, the people of France, toward the close of their great revolution were glad to escape; though the only hope of escape was the Empire. And such a government has given

birth to the exclamation that finds a response in every heart: "One King is bad enough, but good Lord, deliver us from King numbers!"

It was such a government as this from which the men of '76 and '87 recoiled. They then established in its stead, as they supposed, through a nicely adjusted equilibrium of the centripetal and centrifugal forces, Federal system, forming an Union, whereby, as they supposed, consolidation or centralism on the one hand, and a disintegration of States on the other, either being fatal to the Union, would be prevented. Mr. Calhoun announced the destruction of the Federal system in 1833, and stated, and predicted the calamitous results that have followed.

• Mr. Webster declared if the Federal system as contended for by Mr. Calhoun were *not* destroyed in the destruction of the Union we should have States "discordant, belligerent, drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood." What each said for reasons *diametrically* opposed, has been verified, as we have experienced in the miseries and calamities of war. *How is this to be explained?* It is historically true that the men of '76 and '87 aimed to establish such a Federal system as was contended for by Mr. Calhoun. Not only so; it may be admitted that the Federal system was everything as contended for by Mr. Calhoun. There is then presented for our consideration an all important question: *Is such a system possible in practice?* The experiment has been tried and it has failed; and disastrous in the extreme has been the failure; not because the system is false in itself in the abstract, for it is truthful. There is, for the purpose of illustration, an analogy between the centripetal and centrifugal forces in matter, and the national and federative principles in government, but there is no analogy between matter in the material world and government in the political world. In government contrivances and devices are essential to put these principles in operation, in the concrete; for man is not obedient to the laws of his Creator, as is matter. In man the selfish feelings predominate; and, as already

shown, the national and federative principles in government are but the duplicates of the selfish and the social feelings in the individual, and, as already shown in governments organized in reference to political rights with a representation of persons, an equilibrium of the national and federative principles is impossible, and will be so long as man's selfish feelings predominate. The reason is plain: A State is made up of individuals, and, as shown in a State whose government is so organized, the selfish feelings *will control*. Whatever structure of government fails to produce an equilibrium of the selfish and the social feelings, renders an equilibrium of the national and federative principles in a state impossible. And what prevents such equilibrium in one State will prevent it in a number, or system of States. Herein was the true cause of the failure of the Federal system. There can be no doubt Mr. Calhoun saw the difficulty and the danger, for time that tests all things, has shown his predictions were prophetic; and, although he said it was impossible to over estimate the power of truth, when advocated in the spirit of truth, yet he knew that truth in the abstract, was of little or no practical value. Foreseeing, as he did, changes were inevitable, and that the changes threatened must prove calamitous, he proposed nothing until the last time his loving presence adorned the Senate Chamber, and then when the supreme hour was upon him, he said "a dual executive," and without time for explanation, his mortal career was closed.

Mr. Webster staked the perpetuity of the Union upon the *Constitution*, with the *ministration of oaths* and the *destruction of the Federal system*, as adopted by the men of '76 and '87, as enunciated by Mr. Jefferson in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of '98 and '99 with Mr. Madison's report thereon, and as illustrated by the genius of Mr. Calhoun. It is historically true, however, that while the Federal system has been demolished, the Union has *not* survived. The Union is gone! It has no place in State papers—no place in the vocabulary of politicians, it has been superseded by the nation; and, as rev-

olutions never run backwards, *irreversibly* superseded; and, although his eyes beheld not the sad spectacle, the sun has looked down "upon States discordant, depressed, belligerent and drenched in fraternal blood."

There can be no doubt both had an ambition that was high and honorable and noble. Both are historical characters, their names and fame are indissolubly connected with the records of the country, while the Union each sought so earnestly to perpetuate, has perished. The one relied upon the Federal system through which to perpetuate the Union, but which, as we have seen with the structure of government then existing was an impossibility. The other relied upon the Constitution with the ministration of oaths; such reliance, however, was based upon a theory exploded by the history of the Great Charter extending through a period of two hundred years and more, as shown in appendix (a) end of this work. Not only so, such theory was exploded many centuries ago, leading the subtle minded and inquisitive Greek Anaxagoras to exclaim, "Alas for written Constitutions! They are but cob-webs through which the strong break with impunity, while furnishing cords to bind the weak." They have proved to be a snare and delusion to all who have relied upon them. For as shown, Constitution can neither create nor establish, neither direct nor control government. On the contrary, for efficiency and vitality Constitution is wholly dependent upon government, and unless agencies and instrumentalities for its enforcement and observance be provided *in the structure of government* it can have neither efficiency nor vitality. The difference between practice and theory, between a machine itself and an engraving of it, is not greater than the difference between government and constitution. The truth is, there was nothing conservative in the Federal system in itself as it existed, nor was there in Constitution of itself, nor with the ministration of oaths any thing conservative. The conservative element of the system was as clearly shown in an equilibrium of the sections, consisting in an equal division of

States growing out of great and leading diverse INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS. For it is historically true that prior to the destruction of the equilibrium of the sections, on account of industrial interests, we had peace and a material prosperity unparalleled. It is also historically true, that although prior to its destruction, manifestations of a disordered and abnormal state of things became apparent; yet it was only upon its destruction this state of things began, menacingly to develop itself and become more and more aggravated and intensified until finally it culminated in war between the sections. The war then is not the cause but a consequence of the disordered and abnormal state of things resulting from the destruction of the equilibrium of the sections, verified by the fact that although the war has ceased, and ceased for years, this state of things still exists; whereas, had the war been the cause instead of a consequence, long since, as did the war, it also would have ceased. This one fact, although not so designed, that the conservative element of the government grew out of great and leading diverse industrial interests, and to which we are indebted for peace so long continued, for continued prosperity unparalleled is a powerful, if not a conclusive, argument in favor of the reconstruction in reference to industrial rights and interests herein proposed.

I wish, however, to be distinctly understood, for my object is to advocate truth in the spirit of truth. It has been shown prior to the destruction of the conservative element we had peace and unparalleled prosperity; while, however, the existence of this conservative element in the equilibrium of the sections was especially indispensable, really to the prosperity and peace we enjoyed, I do not contend it was the *cause* of this peace and prosperity. The cause of these results is to be seen in the domestic institutions of the South then existing, and in the staple products of the South through discoveries and inventions of an earlier, but more especially, of a more recent date, as I shall now proceed to show: Less than thirty years have elapsed since the views in chapter VI. were pre-

sented as marking the juncture at which we live. In this period less, than one third of our existence as a people, in reviewing them one shall be struck with the vast changes that have been wrought. To all in the least familiar with our history, it is well known that prior to the invention of the cotton gin, the African, as a slave, had a mere nominal value, and the people of the South would have cheerfully emancipated him could he have been removed out of the country.

(I have noticed some one of California asserts in positive terms that if desired by the white population of the South that the African be colonized, the nation would bring all its resources to bear to that end. Justice to the whites and to the blacks demand this; and I feel assured an overwhelming majority of the white people of the South are for this policy. Put the ball in motion.)

This invention of the cotton gin, however, gave to the African a value that would have been considered fabulous prior to that invention. Because he was so admirably adapted to tropical and semi-tropical regions; and was so efficient as a laborer in the productions of such regions, so profitable indeed in the cultivation of cotton, that the lawyer quit the bar, the judge the bench, and even the minister quit the pulpit, to engage in cotton culture.

Through its production a flood of material prosperity was spread throughout the country. Through its production a market was furnished to the Northwest for her breadstuffs yielded in such superfluous abundance, making the growth and prosperity of that section phenomenal. Not only so; through the cotton culture a flood of material prosperity was spread throughout the world, such as had never before been witnessed. Through discoveries and inventions in the production of the raw material, and for its manufacture as an article of cheap clothing and for its transportation, commerce became all-pervading, and commerce is a wonderful locomotive for the diffusion of ideas and intelligence; at once a civilizer and christianizer, and in that all the pre-requisites were now supplied,

including cheap food and cheap clothing, an impetus to civilization was given, far beyond any such results ever before witnessed. For through steam power applied to purposes of transportation, and travel on the sea and on the land, and its application to diversify pursuits and to multiply industries material prosperity was assured; because the industries produce wealth, wealth begets material prosperity, and material prosperity is but another expression for material aid—money, while the machinery through discoveries and inventions for field and household purposes furnished to us, as rational beings in the time saved from labor, an abundant leisure for our moral improvement. But while having almost within our grasp in their full fruition all the hopes which such a prospect could inspire, and surpassing anything of which the Christian philosopher had ever dreamed; our councils were darkened by memorials and petitions from a section claiming to be, and believed to be, the most prosperous; and in which discoveries and inventions had been more fully developed than elsewhere, praying for an *increase of the taxes*, ostensibly for the benefit of the laborer, technically called operative, because engaged in the artificial industries developed through discoveries and inventions, upon the ground that they did not receive, nor could they be paid sufficient wages or money to enable them to advance in civilization, or even to maintain their places in its ranks. The taxes were increased until in 1828 those who had them to pay denounced the bill for their increase as a bill of “abominations,” although the taxes were thus increased, it is nevertheless true, complaints of the difficulty if not of the impossibility of an advance in civilization so far as operatives were concerned, *were well founded*. How is this to be explained? The explanation can be given: The capital (as moneys thus concentrated are called) to put those industries in operation enabled the capitalists to put the earnings of the laborer or operative in their pockets, just as in England through the operations of that government the laborer’s earnings go into the pockets of the aristocracy.

That is to say, there was prosperity, the industries did flourish; but while industrial interests were promoted, industrial *rights* were not protected.

For proof, look at the social and political evils then manifesting themselves, as shown in the development of the civilization of the XIX century. The tale is readily told, the laborer unjustly deprived, as I have shown, of his earnings, and reduced to poverty, unable to maintain his place in the ranks of civilization became outlawed and degraded; from degradation driven to crime and insanity.

In default of such changes as were demanded, this state of things grew from bad to worse. From it were evolved moral and political phenomena, such as are the invariable indication of a transitive period in its broadest sense. The transition was painfully manifest in the fact that the capitalist, through discoveries and inventions, by concentration of his money was doing here what the aristocracy of England through that government were doing with the earnings of the laborer, and as effectually; yet this is alleged to be a government of the free form, while that is a confessed monarchy. The difference, so far as the laborer was concerned, was rapidly disappearing. A spirit of wild and fierce fanaticism also an index, and an unerring index of a transition period was developed, and to prevent outlawry on the part of the laborer conflicts between labor and capital in the slang of the day called strikes occurred: for the increase of taxes in the shape of custom dues afforded no permanent relief to the laborer. The contest for an increase of taxes did what in the nature of things it was impossible to prevent. It increased sectional animosities on account of great and diverse industrial interests, but to which diversity of interests, as so conclusively shown, the conservative element of the government was due; whether so designed or not, the fact was so.

The African was the exponent of Southern interests and upon the African animosities increased until upon the destruction of this conservative element war ensued. A war, not

only phenomenal but for the stupendous folly of it is unsurpassed, everything considered, even by the French revolution, of which it has been declared by the ablest men, though its events have been correctly enough narrated by Frenchmen and foreigners, no one has ever yet given a satisfactory explanation of it; it was a political phenomenon so astounding. It has been said, though I have had not the data for a correct calculation, that its cost was nearly equal to the value of all the cotton that had been produced up to its close, and that sum just about equaled the estimated value of the Africans emancipated.

Through these discoveries and inventions the South had been raised to the highest pinnacle of material prosperity. Through steam power applied to purposes of transportation and travel, and the telegraph to give ubiquitous information her institutions which had been the growth of centuries were uprooted; she was reduced to poverty, and left on the road to degradation; and thus through discoveries and inventions was lost—the lost cause, and not through inferior numbers, as alleged. For through these contrivances employed by the North which had developed them to their maximum power; to one thousand troops was given the efficiency of ten thousand; while the South had, to a great extent, ignored them. I have now shown the reactionary influence of discoveries and inventions on the moral and political world in default of the changes they demanded, produced the disordered and abnormal state of things preceeding the war, and from which were evolved the phenomena, as mentioned in the chapter referred to; finally resulting, as shown, in war.

Not only has it been disastrous, as stated, but in its conception the States as sovereignties, were then ignored if not before; while in its progress and results they were, as such, demolished; and of course the Federal system was demolished, the Union with it giving place to the nation for the national government alone survives, the national principle alone dominating; the Federative principles having been eliminated in

the destruction of the Federal system, So that the causes really, of our peace and prosperity have been the causes of the ruin that has been wrought.

I have said the prevention of the abuse of the taxing power would remedy existing evils, social and political, and would necessarily prevent all conflicts between capital and labor; or, if preferred, between employer and employees. This question was postponed, but not indefinitely, when considering how, by a proper structure of government to prevent those engaged in one industrial interest from oppressing those engaged in another industrial interest by taxing this other interest directly or indirectly through the government. For, as alleged, that is the usual way in which the evils to be remedied are engendered, and the conflicts to be prevented are threatened. In that aspect the question has been fairly met and settled, in a manner that is, or ought to be, satisfactory to all.

In the example as to railway strikes it was shown, owing to the abuse of the taxing power, incomes from travel and transportation were so reduced that these corporations were compelled to curtail the number of their employees, or laborers, and to reduce the wages of those retained. There is, as I conceive, but one other mode in which it can be alleged these conflicts could occur, than through the abuse of the taxing power, and that is that railway capitalists without excuse, from the love of money, because they could, should reduce the wages of their laborers so that they could neither advance in civilization nor maintain their places in its ranks; and that these laborers, to prevent such outlawry, would resort to strikes. How are such supposed conflicts, when threatened, to be prevented? In the first place, with railway capitalists as with all other persons, the selfish feelings predominate: and if so, their selfish feelings would prompt them to engage in such enterprises legitimately, and to conduct them legitimately, and if so, such conflicts as supposed could never occur. If, however, there are men who could believe that under such circumstances, railways could be permanently or profita-

bly conducted, no such men will ever have the capital or capacity to bring about such disastrous results. And if through governmental oppression and injustice those wielding its power would be tyrants—resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. No, no; disguised as it may be, the danger is, as I have said, by governmental injustice and oppression; through the abuse of the taxing power, directly and indirectly, such conflicts are threatened.

I am abundantly and ably sustained in this respect by Rev. Dr. Wayland, in his work on Political Economy. Remove this cause, as would be done by adopting the structure of government proposed, and such conflicts would never occur. But what is conclusive on this point is the fact that the conflicts which have occurred, and which are threatened, are confined to the sections where those interests which have sought and obtained the aid of the government to promote them at the expense of other interests through the abuse of the taxing power, are, and have been, most extensively developed; that is to say, those interests originating in the manufacture of cotton and iron, and this the world knows. And hence it is that railway capitalists should aid in the reconstruction proposed, not only to promote their industrial interests but also to protect the industrial rights of their laborers. Because it is really a short-sighted policy that would seek the promotion of one's interest at the expense of another's rights. Otherwise, as matters now stand, and as events are now tending, the battles of others will be fought at their expense, at least, in their name, whereby this government would become not only a consolidated but a colossal despotism, under which industrial rights would be crushed, when industrial interests could no longer be promoted. If such corporations have been unjustly denounced as monopolies for the exclusive benefit of the few, now is the time, and reconstruction leads the way in which such charges and imputations may be repelled.

• I have now shown, and I trust satisfactorily, that all con-

flicts between capital and labor, as well as social and political evils result directly and indirectly from the governmental abuse of the taxing power, and that under the government of the United States, as *it is*, such evils are irremediable and such conflicts inevitable.

It will be remembered the theory was advanced and sustained by argument, that when either the federative or national principle exclusively dominates the development of civilization was impossible. I shall now proceed to verify the correctness of that theory by the government of the United States as *it is*, in which, as shown, the national principle exclusively dominates. In order to do so I shall now proceed to show any advance in civilization under this government as *it is*, is impossible. Every advance in civilization is marked by an increased material prosperity and an improved moral condition. To these ends we have more, and more powerful auxiliaries than any people before us ever possessed. Look at steam power, how, through inventions, it diversifies pursuits and multiplies the industries. The industries create wealth, and wealth begets material prosperity, material aid, money. As a consequence, the poverty of the poor would no longer be their destruction, because material prosperity would guaranty to the poor a subsistence—a living; and in so doing, would guaranty against degradation. Instead of which we are becoming poorer and poorer, as is verified by the frightful increase of the social evils of mendicancy, crime and insanity: so there is no increased material prosperity. Look, now, at the numberless contrivances in labor-saving machinery for field and household purposes. These must be designed for our good instead of evil. How can they be for our good, however, unless the time saved from labor affords us leisure as rational beings, for moral improvement? Instead of which, labor was never more unremitting nor its demands more exacting. So then, as there is no increased material prosperity, no moral improvement, there can be no advance in civilization. So that in practice, as well as in theory, there can be no ad-

vance in civilization so long as the national principle exclusively dominates.

Not only is an advance impossible, but since in civilization we cannot remain stationary, we must retrograde; and to show that we are retrograding, let one evil alone be considered, that of intemperance, in the use of alcoholic liquors, now grown to be an evil of appalling magnitude.

To maintain one's place in the ranks of an advancing civilization requires material aid, money. But in a civilization advancing there is material prosperity, and since material prosperity begets money, it is far easier than to maintain one's place in a civilization retrograding and when there is no material prosperity. To maintain one's place in its ranks, and prevent a retrogression, that would cast one beyond the pale of civilization, and subject him to outlawry, increases the struggle for material aid; and as there is no accretion of wealth, the gains of one are the losses of others, and the struggle becomes fierce and fanatical; so much so that men, to obtain the money necessary to maintain themselves in its ranks, and to prevent an outlawry that would ruthlessly consign them to mendicancy, crime or insanity, will sacrifice honor, honesty, truth, anything and everything. From this fierce and fanatical struggle are evolved the moral and political phenomena such as have been mentioned in the chapter "On the Juncture at which we Live," and in addition, a want of confidence in every one, and this *mania for strong drink*. In this struggle deeds are done that weigh "heavy on the heart, sorrows are planted in the memory, and troubles are written on the brain," and hence, for some oblivious antidote, although that oblivion be but momentary, men will resort to drugs, narcotics, soporifics, liquors, even poisons; for we know if not victims we deserve to be, and hence it is "conscience makes cowards of us all." And, shocking to relate, into this fierce and fanatical struggle, not only men, but even women and children are forced and conscribed. The truth is, moral disease is just as infectious and contagious as physical disease, the small-pox or

the leprosy or yellow fever, and hence no one, however prosperous, may consider himself exempt. Sixty thousand at a low estimate from this one evil perish annually, entailing incalculable misery and suffering, it is fair to say upon ten times the number of women and children putting them on the road to ruin, to become mendicants, criminals and lunatics, increasing and intensifying all other evils, and fearfully augmenting human misery and suffering, in the want and destruction thus produced.

Let us take the victims, then, according to the census from '50 to '60, and we shall find the insane increasing out of proportion to increase of population. Bad as that decade is in the increase of the insane, the increase in the next decade, from '60 to '70, is still more beyond the increase of population. The statistics as to insanity approximate correctness. As to mendicancy and crime they are defective. Yet great as is the increase in insanity, it is far greater as to mendicancy and crime. Add to these three evils the idiots, for idiocy is increasing nearly on a par with insanity, and then the victims of intemperance, who, although so many commit suicide by excessive drink, yet are not ranked as criminals. The increase of the victims out of proportion to increase of population shows beyond doubt civilization is down grade, and has therefore attained its highest possible development, and when that point in the history of a people is reached it marks the period of their decline and fall. So that if these evils are to increase in the future as they have in the past, and as they are increasing in the present, "it is as plain as if "penciled in the heavens with sunbeams," that we are doomed to perish. If then we desire or expect the effects to cease we must remove the cause. We have seen this mania for intoxicating liquors results from a retrograde civilization. What, then, is the cause of this retrograde civilization? Is it in the governing, those who govern or conduct the operations of government; or is it in the government itself; or is it in those who are governed—the people? It must be somewhere. It must

be in the governing, in the government, or in the people.

These are at any time important questions, but at this juncture they are all-important. So much so indeed, if one knew how the people would decide and act upon them he could forecast their destiny. A truthful and correct answer can be readily given, as I shall now proceed to show: The All-wise Being has ordained government in the abstract as an instrumentality through which in the concrete, if properly constructed, a people may advance in civilization. If such instrumentality fail, however, to subserve the purposes designed, God being all-wise, the defect must be in man's workmanship—in his structure of government, in the government itself. A truth so clearly demonstrated men will not dare deny it, for that would be to deny the omniscience of God, a denial that He is All-wise. While, however, men will not make such denial of the truth directly they will indirectly. There are two so-called parties through which the people are divided, one has control of the government, the other aspires to its control; the one we will designate the *ins*, the other the *outs*. The *outs* will charge upon the *ins* that the cause of the disordered and abnormal state of things is their misrule. The *ins* charge the state of things upon the opposition the defeat of the wise and salutary laws they wish to enact, and the defeat of the conservative policy they would pursue,—crimination and recrimination follow. In the meantime man in his normal state is always the same, and whether among those who govern or those who are governed, the selfish feelings predominate. Owing to defective government some officeholders among the *ins* practice fraud and pocket moneys to which they are not entitled.

These charges are then brought forward by the *outs* as a reason that the *ins* should step down and out; pledging themselves to reform such abuses by bringing the guilty to condign punishment if they are allowed to step up and in. Reform is pledged by the *ins*, if allowed to remain in.

To what do such pledges of reform amount, if made in good faith? If you prevent such persons from practicing such frauds the burdens of the people are not lessened. There is no promise or pledge to prevent the abuse of the taxing power, through which an injustice and oppression are practiced upon the people, to which all the malpractice, malfeasance, speculation and fraud practiced by office-holders with Credit Mobilier swindles thrown in, are not to be compared. So that all this fuss and fury is not to relieve the people but to enforce a principle, in technical language, called "Honor among thieves."

To such an extent has this disgraceful contest been carried that the disinterested spectator and observer of the last presidential contest could not fail to see the clamor of the rival candidates for the office of chief magistrate turned upon the question, which of the two was the better *police detective*, and that to prevent one office-holder from getting more than his share of the public plunder—a contest in which the people really had little or no interest whatever. All the hew and cry about reform had this extent—no more. In the mean time, the public oppression, through the abuse of the taxing power and a retrograde civilization are becoming more and more grievous to be borne. Not only so, the conviction is strengthening, that the only guaranty of a living is in the disbursement of the taxes, and the difficulties of a fair division among the-*ins* are increasing, as well as the dissatisfaction and discontent among the people at large. These produce a necessity for a new programme. Let it never be forgotten that the public opinion rules the world; not that the public opinion is always truthful, by no means; but whether true or false, it governs the world. The people are not therefore to look to this, to that, or the other man as a means of securing safety, or of avoiding danger; for, as shown, the *cause* of their perils is not in man, virtuous or vicious, but *in the government*. We could not change man if we would; we must, therefore, take him as he is, and not fancy him as we would have him.

"Put not your trust in princes," is the highest wisdom endorsed over and over again by our seers and prophets in their solemn admonitions to us. If they abandon governmental guaranties for their rights and liberties in their reliance upon man, his discretion becomes the measure of their rights and liberties. This gives you not a choice of rules, only a choice of masters. The true public opinion alone you can safely follow. The public opinion, however, depends upon the progress of events, as said in the chapter "Why Napoleon Wrote His Life of Cæsar;" it was not Cæsar that superseded the republic and inaugurated the empire, but it was the progress of events; because in their progress they created public opinion, true or false; watch, therefore, the progress of events. There are in the life of every people historic periods, when a new departure must take place, and then their destiny depends upon that departure. The case of Esau is not a mere isolated case to teach us only he sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, but it illustrates a general principle, like all such facts in *the Book*, for it tells us how, afterwards, he could find no place for repentance, though he sought it diligently and with tears. Cæsar meant the same thing in saying "The die was cast," when the Rubicon was passed. So did Shakspeare, in saying,

"There is a time in the
Affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on
To pros'prous fortune; neglected all the voyage
Of their lives is bound in shallows and in quicksands.,,

In this new programme referred to, an effort is made to induce the people to follow to their destruction and ruin irretrievable, the false public opinion, and it is wilfully made, knowing it to be false. The exponents of this false public opinion are to be seen in the following allegations:

In the first place there are orations from the pulpit and leaders in the religious press that teem with denunciations of the laboring poor for spending their money for liquor—that in so doing they are not only the authors of their poverty with its consequent misery and suffering, but become also

the perpetrators of crime. So religiously. How, is it politically? In the first place, we are told money is abundant, and if there is no prosperity it is because of so much idleness; that there is a class of people that don't work, will not work, but ought to be made to work; that another class ought to be disfranchised, and so on and so on. To enumerate all such, time and patience would fail me.

So far as pulpit orators and editors of the religious press are concerned I wish to ask them a few questions: Where is the defect or fault of this retrograde civilization? Is it in *the people, in rulers, in government, or in religion*? It must be somewhere. What is civilization? It is a reflex of a people's religion. It may not be a reflex of the religion they *profess*, but it will be a reflex of the religion they *do*. If our civilization were a reflex of the religion we profess our civilization would progress *ad infinitum*. It has been conclusively shown, however, our civilization is not only not progressing but actually retrograding. Is the cause in man whether he rules or is ruled, or in government? The All-wise ordained government in the abstract as an instrumentality through which civilization is to be developed. Government being ordained in the abstract it is for man to construct government to put it in the concrete.

If you allege the cause of the failure is in man, then I say, God, being all-wise, knew man perfectly, and to say an instrumentality He ordained, if properly constructed, would not answer the purposes designed, would be to deny He is all-wise, which one dare not do. The fault or failure then being not in God nor in man it must be in man's workmanship, in his structure of government—in *government*. If so, and there can be no doubt about it; and since it has been shown defective government is in the last analysis the real and true cause of our retrograde civilization, and our retrograde civilization the cause, among other evils, of this mania for strong drink, it follows conclusively your denunciations of the laboring poor who are the miserable victims of this

vice as the authors of their ruin, are not only unjustly and cruelly false, but are creating a false public opinion, which must, if not controlled, work out their inevitable ruin. The *true* public opinion teaches the cause of all this misery and suffering is not in man but in defective government. If in man the evils engendered are *irremediable*, if in government *remediable*. Not only so, if sincere you must regard the religion you profess as a remedy and a sovereign remedy for sin; and if a remedy for sin it must be a remedy for all evil for sin is the source and origin of all the ills to which flesh is heir. This, if sincere, you must admit, and so says Colonel Ingersoll, and he asks an all-important question, which, if sincere, you should answer. He asks, Why is this sovereign remedy not applied? For human ills are not only more numerous, more aggravated and threaten more fatal results than ever before since the dawn of modern civilization, and of these ills the poor are mainly the victims, the very people to whom the divine Author of the religion you profess made His most affectionate appeals and to whom He showed His most wonderful condescension. Why then is not this sovereign remedy, so freely offered without money and without price, why is it not applied? Colonel Ingersoll says, It's all a delusion and you are deluded creatures, else hypocrites," and looking at the frightful increase of human ills and their victims, is it at all surprising that Infidelity overshadows the land? And now what do the professed followers of Jesus say? If sincere they will aid in forming the true public opinion and admit the true cause is not in man, not in the religion of Jesus, a Divine personage, the Son of God, but in *government*. Else if it were not so why do you not preach the Gospel to the poor in which its great and chiefest excellency consists?

You do not preach it to the poor! and before these pages are closed I will show that owing to defective government it *can not* be preached to them.

It is plain to any one who can see to the end of his nose

this whole country, in fact the whole world is verging towards civil strife, owing to the disordered and abnormal state of things at present and for years past existing. Years ago England's Premire, as chancellor of the University at Glasgow, in a deliberate and well considered address, said that "Nothing, nothing but a religious war could give a solution to the existing conflict. This is to say through centuries of injustice and oppression in European countries the masses of the population have not only become brutalized and degraded but have been driven to infidelity. Now the money power, whether concentrated in a hereditary or simply a moneyed aristocracy are determined to rule or ruin, yet knowing they can't govern without some sort of religion, and since the utmost limit of endurance has been reached they will add to a civil strife the horrors of a *religious* war. This converted Jew is like most new converts are, very zealous, especially when they have some worldly purpose to accomplish, some worldly ambition to gratify. He knows whether he become converted for the sake of office or not. Others must judge for themselves. He was D'Israeli then, he is Lord Beaconsfield now. However that may be this converted Jew is a splendid exponent of this mean and infernal programme for the creation of a false public opinion for a purpose that can not be mistaken. And now I ask pulpit orators and editors of the religious press, Will you take issue with Colonel Ingersoll and show the cause of these ills, these terrible evils is not to be traced to the religion you profess as an adequate remedy for them but to defective government. It is said Colonel Ingersoll is in the interest of the money power. If so I presume it is only temporarily, for whether it be his desire or not if his doctrine be accepted, his, like Othello's occupation, will soon be gone. Or do you mean to out Ingersoll and become permanent allies of the money power in an abhorred union of Church and State so-called? That depends upon whether you are for God or for Cæsar—not for Cæsar, for Cæsar was not only a mighty man but he was a good man; for when the

poor of Rome did cry for bread Cæsar wept. But then he was a Pagan and we are Christians, so when the poor cry for bread we put them in prisons to *reform* them as for *their* reformation our religion is not sufficient, and if that will not do drive to crime and insanity. So the question should read are you for God or for the Devil? for the Devil is personified in the *false* public opinion. You must decide. This is no time, nor is there any place for neutrals. As when events were drifting towards the Savior's crucifixion, so *now* those who are not for Him are against Him. We shall see what we shall see. So it is religiously; how is it politically? We find the so-called patriots the office-holders and the office-seekers and the secular press fully up to and breast with the religious world in their efforts to create a false public opinion. To this end their batteries are leveled against the *licentiousness of the people*; but never directed against the cupidity, the vice and profligacy of *rulers*; of the moneyed men. Now, in Rome, when the poor became impoverished, they were fed at the public crib, and such men as the Gracchi, the noblest Romans of them all, had sumptuary laws enacted whereby the rich were made to defray out of their superfluous abundance the expenses of the government. How are expenses of this government met? It has been shown labor always indirectly or directly paid the taxes. But owing to the public oppression the substance of the people has been consumed while through its invariable concomitant the private injustice the money and wealth of the country have been concentrated in the hands of the few, whereby the industries of the country have been paralyzed throwing millions of the laboring poor out of employment into, a coerced idleness. And although those who labor are so much overtaxed there is a deficiency in the income of the taxes from labor on account of this coerced idleness.

How is this deficiency to be supplied? Money, we are told, is abundant, but only in the hands of the few. Money, however, has become the masters of those who govern,

so no money for the relief of the people for the support of the government can be extorted from them. But this mania for strong drink, a phenomenon of a retrograde civilization is seized upon, and laws are passed licensing the manufacture and the sale of liquors. So that those who live by the government, if they can't live on the labor of the laborer, will live by his vices; and this is done under the pretext of licensing vice, they say, to prevent crime, which is wholly untrue; for every one knows to sanction vice is to encourage vice, and to encourage vice is to encourage crime; not one crime but every crime. The object of this subterfuge is plain. It is to create a false public opinion to decide that the victims of this vice and of all evils, social and political, are also the authors of their ruin, which is wholly untrue. And should the injustice and oppression become unsupportable, if as Dr. Wayland suggests, they should conclude that no change can be for the worse and resort to *force* as the only hope of relief, then the moneyed power will furnish the material aid to coerce, through ball and bayonet submission. So that having made themselves masters of those who govern moneyed men through the government, fit machine as it is for such purpose will become the masters of the people. Thus will be verified the solemn and prophetic declaration of the venerable and philanthropic Peter Cooper, that the country is rapidly passing into the hands of a moneyed aristocracy, of all aristocracies the most loathsome and detestable, because destitute of soul or patriotism. And he might have added, of all tyrants the most tyrannical, because themselves slaves—slaves of avarice, the most sordid of all vices. For, the world over, the slave by nature, or in condition if trusted with power becomes of all taskmasters the most cruel.

It is very true no public man who rules or aspires to rule has, as yet, dared to say publicly the people are incapable of *self-government*. O, no; "the great purpose, noble or ignoble, is ne'er a'estaken unless the deed go with it."

To show, however, that I am right in this effort to form a

new programme for the ceation of a false public opinion I will quote from the uncontradicted remarks of General Weaver in his place as a Representative in Congress, from Iowa. General Weaver quotes a leader from one of the most influential magazines of the country. Here it is:

"We cannot do what the French government once did under similar circumstances, banish fifty thousand of them to colonial or penal servitude; and it is a great pity that we cannot. If we could gather the whole disgusting multitude, wash them, put new clothes upon them, and under military surveillance and direction set them quarrying stone or raising corn or cotton for ten years, we might save some of them to decency and respectability, and relieve the honest people of the country of their presence and their support. If we cannot do this, however, there is one thing that we can do. Every State in the Union can gather these men wherever found into the work-houses, where they can be restrained from scaring and praying upon the community, and made to earn the bread they eat and the clothes they wear. It is necessary, of course, to throw away all sentimentality in connection with them. The tramp is a man who can be approached by no motive but pain—the pain of a thrashing or a pain of hunger. He hates work, he has no self-respect and no shame, and by counting himself permanently out of the productive and self-supporting forces of society he counts himself out of his rights. He has no rights. He has no rights but those which society may see fit of its grace to bestow. He has no more rights than the sow that wallows in the gutter, or the lost dogs that hover around the city squares. He is no more to be consulted in his wishes or his will in the settlement of the question of what is to be done with him than the bullock in the corral. Legislation concerning this evil seems to have been initiated in the various States; but at this writing we cannot learn that anything effective has been done. It would be well if the States could work in concert in this matter, but one great State like New York or Pennsylvania or Ohio

has only to inaugurate a stringent measure to drive all the other States into measures that shall be its equivalent. The tramp whose freedom is imperiled in New York would fly to New Jersey or to New England, and New Jersey and New England will be obliged to protect themselves. So one powerful State can compel unanimity of action throughout the country. The Legislature of New York had a bill up a year ago which came to nothing, but something must be done somewhere very soon if we propose to have anything like safety and comfort in our homes, or to relieve ourselves of voluntary, vicious, and even malicious pauperism."

The aiders and abettors of this writer, in other localities, will shout, "Down with the tramp; there is but one step between the highway tramp and the highway robber, for when he whistles the little dogs, Tray, Blanche, Sweetheart and all will bark. General Weaver says he is a Christian gentleman, and if so, he thinks he certainly has a right to quote the Scriptures as Satan has to reprove sin. And he says, if one will not work he should not eat." But there's another version. Suppose one has worked and will work so long as he can thereby earn bread for his wife and little ones. But if his idleness is *coerced* and he be thrown out of employment, then what?

If he voluntarily refuse to provide for his household the Book says he is worse than a heathen. Of course one would conclude in a land favored with an abundance, not to say a wasteful profusion of God's blessings, *somewhere* one can earn a subsistence. And this editor, learned as he is, in the Scriptures, must know even the Patriarchs when subsistence was impossible where they were would change their location, and sometimes went from one country to another. So this so-called tramp, as an honest and industrious laborer, started westward. While he knew he ought not to eat unless he worked, he also knew he could not work unless he did eat. A paraphrase which probably did not occur to this sapient editor. And as everybody must go west he thought surely the

people of the rural districts through which he would pass having a superabundance would feed the wayfaring man, especially as he would have no means to ride on the cars, but must travel on foot, they will, seeing his necessity, be the more willing to "do unto others as they would have others do unto them." As anything was better than to sit still and see them starve, he left his family.

True, memory would be ever busy with the past; but hope guilded the future, and beckoned him onward. But alas for him! times grew from bad to worse, and the further he went the worse they got. He could neither look nor feel cheerful; he could not, he dare not give utterance to his griefs, his doubts and fears. Times got to be such that even those engaged in the agricultural industry had to struggle for a living. Notwithstanding the earth yielded its fruits of increase so abundantly. The labor of those thus engaged is unremitting; it leaves no time for improvement—no time for repose—and, of course, no time could be spared to the so-called tramp.

Gradually hope grows dimmer and dimmer, while memory becomes busier and busier with the past. He has heard but seldom, but now the news from his family comes with crushing weight; for, broken-hearted, his wife has sunk into a pauper's grave; his children pass into alien hands. And whose fate can be so inconsolable as one's whose memory of the past can inspire no hope for the future? Some people—and I fear this editor is of them—think poor people, because they are poor, have no affection, no kindly feeling. And I suppose that's the reason he thinks certain of them have no more rights than brutes. But one who knew has said: While there are "tortures the rich can never know," there are "tortures the poor alone can feel." Hope, with all its pleasing delusions vanished, leaving the once honest and industrious laborer to brood over sorrows and griefs inconsolable—memory alone surviving—a memory of crushed hopes and broken hearts. And now he realizes the sad truth that, although this land is blessed with Heaven's blessings in a profuse, not to say wasteful abundance—although no plague, no pestilence, no famine has swept over it, blighting its prosperity and marr-

ing the happiness of its population, yet its prosperity and happiness have been as effectually blighted and destroyed as if the wrath of an offended God had been visited upon it. Who, I ask this editor, has done these things? Who are their authors? Yet the aiders and abettors of this editor, in the creation of this false public opinion, as bloodhounds on his trail, shouted, and continued to shout, there is but one step from the highway tramp to the highway robber! He is accused of burning the labor-saving machinery of the farmer. Why should he? for this editor says he will not work. He is accused of burning the farmer's grain when harvested. Why should he? the more abundant breadstuffs are, the more apt he would be to get something to eat.

Could any one be surprised that the once honest, industrious laborer should become the degraded tramp. The laborer is degraded, but who degraded him? It sometimes happens—and this I guess is a case in point—where the name of the real offender appears on the back, and not where it should be on the face of the indictment. But General Weaver says the editor is a Christian; if so, after howling so lustily with the wolves on the trail of the laborer, until he becomes the degraded tramp, to be consistent, I presume he also sings Psalms with the saints. If, however, he be a real Christian, he would rather prevent degradation than punish the degraded. And if so he'll battle for the reconstruction proposed, seeing the cause of this retrograde civilization is in defective government, in order that when reconstructed the gospel may be preached to the poor: for that will—and is the only power that will—prevent the degradation of the poor. And if their degradation be prevented, crime will be prevented; because from degraded beings the ranks of criminals are recruited.

The object, however, is hardly disguised. This is the logic: The money power can control the population in and around the money centers. We must, through a false public opinion, control the honest-hearted people of the rural districts, and make them believe the so-called tramp is not only the author of his own ruin, but will be, unless outlawed, also their ruin. Then we can throttle the tramp;

and then what? Yes, then what? Tackle the working-man. Look at it! throttle and outlaw the so-called tramp, because they allege he will not work. Tackle the workingman for what? It must be because they will work. Hard to please!

——— “Ah what a tangled web
Do these so-called Christians weave
When they do practice to deceive.”

For proof, let us take another individual Gen'l Weaver introduces to us. His name is Cook, his occupation is that of Lecturer, and his place of abode is B-o-s-t-o-n. Read what he says. Here it is:

“Joseph Cook, in a lecture in Boston, says that if the workingmen of this country demand legal-tender currency we will disfranchise them if it has to be done at the end of a bloody civil war.”

As has been shown, through the public oppression the people have been reduced to poverty, and through the private injustice the money and wealth of the country have been concentrated in the hands of the few, whereby the industries are paralyzed, brought to a stand still, laborers thrown out of employment. Now Dr. Wayland, in his work on political economy, says the greater the capital the more numerous the laborers employed and the better the wages they receive. Now if money is abundant it is in the hands of the few, so that if it is capital it is idle capital. But Mr. Webster said it was the duty of those who govern to give protection and security to labor, for labor is the source of all prosperity. The workingmen therefore ask those who govern for a legal-tender currency—the Greenback proper, in order that labor may find in employment security and protection. But Mr. Cook says if they, the workingmen, insist upon a legal-tender currency they must be disfranchised, even at the cost of a long and bloody war if necessary. Mr. Cook is for a hard money currency, whereas hard money never has been a currency, a circulating medium as has been already shown in modern time; it's a *relict of barbarism*.

The object is plain; capital may be idle, and that's all

right: but labor must not be idle. The laborer has been reduced to poverty, and we'll keep him *poor*. This programme of Mr. Cook's is a very bloody one, for in a civil war Dr. Wayland says, "The sword enters every house; the holiest ties that bind men together are severed, and no prophet can tell the end from the beginning." What sort of men are these Boston men? In this latitude we would consider such men monsters in human shape. He, I presume, was for a bloody war to *enfranchise* the African, and now he's for a long and bloody war to *disfranchise* the working white man. The next individual, Gen'l Weaver, commends to our notice is a member of Congress from New York—a Mr. Chittenden. He is neither so blood-thirsty as Mr. Cook, nor so wrathfully pious as the editor of Scribner. He does not therefore appear so much the ass that stole the Lion's skin as the Jackdaw that stole the Peacock's feathers. He, like Mr. Cook, recognizes in the African the man and brother, but can't recognize in the white man the man and brother, unless the white man is *rich*.

I suppose he wished the country to understand that he was rich and had no poor kin folks. Exit Mr. Chittenden.

His constituents are to be pitied. I must present to General Weaver my thanks for the exhibition of personal independence and the able and patriotic remarks he made on the floor of Congress. I beg leave, however, to suggest, and think it will not be considered impertinent in me, that in my opinion a party can't succeed with only one plank in their platform. The greenback is a very strong one, and all that would be desired as to a circulating medium, *provided* that would not be like the money we have had, concentrated in the hands of the few. To prevent such concentration there is now nothing, absolutely nothing.

The question is to have capital that is not idle capital. The concentration of the greenback as of gold and silver in the hands of the few can be prevented *only* by *preventing the abuse of the taxing power*. The structure of government herein proposed would prevent that abuse, and in preventing that abuse would *protect* industrial rights, the rights of labor, and promote industrial interests. This is something

tangible to be seen and felt, and if you will substitute the reconstruction herein proposed in place of the glittering generalities about labor and the rights of the laborer, it would inspire hope and confidence. Rights in the abstract are of no practical value. To be valuable practically, they must and will be in the concrete, if you succeeded with such a platform. Such a platform tongued and grooved would be a strong and substantial piece of joiner's work. And a party on such a platform of principles would be invincible.

You should also have an appropriate and suitable banner. It should exhibit the painting of the Six Alls of London, of the monied aristocracy hereditary in England, not yet hereditary in this country. You know the first all is the king dressed in his royal robes, swaying his scepter and saying, "I rule over all." And then the second all is the priest, dressed in his saintly robes of hypocrisy, with the motto on his breastplate, "No State without a king, no church without a bishop, and saying, I pray for all." Then the doctor, who says, "I cure all." The lawyer, "I plead for all." The soldier, "I fight for all." While the laborer, at the bottom, clad in tattered garments, with woe-begone countenance, meekly saying, "I *work* for all." Look at it. It reads thusly: The right to vote belongs to the property holder, because *property should have security and protection*. The laborer should *not* vote because *labor should not have security and protection*. Mr. Webster said, it was the right and duty of those who govern to give to labor "security and protection." Compared to the American aristocracy of to-day, one is forced to exclaim, what a simpleton Daniel Webster was! This is equality *before* the law. Now look at the greenback or capital and labor platform, and see how harmoniously they are blended. To vote is the right of the property holder *and* the laborer, because it is the duty of those who govern to give security and protection to *labor and* property. This is equality *under* the law. Look at the laborer on this platform, and see how happy, how robust, how contented. See him pointing the oppressed laborer on the monied aristocracy platform to our seventh all, and our all and in all our Lord incarnate, and

saying He died for all. Not only so, he taught us we should do unto others as under like circumstance others should do unto us. And not only so, religion is not only a *mode of worship*, but also a *system of government*, and is "God's own and only system of government." It is also seemingly the contrivance introduced by the Divine Wisdom to teach us after what pattern we should model our institutions, in order that our civilization when developed should be a reflex of the religion we profess. If it was, it would progress *ad infinitum*; whereas it is not only not progressing, but *retrograding*.

This then of itself is conclusive against the government of the United Statse *as it is*, and in favor of the reconstruction proposed. For it would, if so constructed, prevent civil strife, and religious and all other wars, for it would *supercede parties*.

The father of his country, in his farewell address, to his countrymen, solemnly warned us against party spirit as having hitherto proved to be the *bane* of all Republics, though parties were seemingly indispensable. The life, the vitality of party is *inequality*, this so called equality before the law, as exhibited in the picture showing the laborer, because he is a laborer, is not the equal of any, but *beneath* all and on a level with the brutes. But our *equality under the law* in the reconstruction proposed, when consummated would supercede parties, so that *self* government will then triumph over its last enemy; because it would be an adaptation of *effete* institutions to the characteristics of a new order of things, as seen in discoveries and inventions, especially those of a more recent date, whereby we would rise to a higher plane of civilization, a civilization that would progress *ad infinitum*, embodying the principles and illustrating the sublime precepts of the religion we profess, and for the first time in its reflex; because for the first time in government of man's contrivance, there would be governmentally constructed a rendition to God of the things that be God's, as well as to Cæsar of the things that be Cæsar's. This requires the subject should be presented in a duplex aspect, religious as well as political. I shall therefore show in

CHAPTER IX.

The reconstruction proposed as a remedy and preventive would be a rendition to God of the things that be God's, as well as to Cæsar of the things that be Cæsar's.*

In the gospel according to Matthew, chapter 22 and verses 20 and 21, our Lord uses the following language: "Render therefore to Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's; to God the thing that be God's."

In these memorable words of our Lord we have presented for our consideration, God the creator and ruler of this universe; Cæsar the political ruler of a temporal power or government whose dominion extended over the whole world as then known, with a population of one hundred and twenty millions of people; and money—*money* "the love of which is the root of all evil," because that love is rooted and deeply rooted in the strongest and most unworthy of the anarchic passions of our sinful nature—covetousness. Not only so; these memorable words convey a command—a positive and imperative command as to our duty to God, and our duty to Cæsar as a representative man of political rulers, and necessarily involving the consideration of two subjects that ever have been and ever must be of paramount importance in the minds of men—religion and government. The first question then which presents itself is what things belong to Cæsar governmentally considered?

As to governmental institutions or political power, we may, say as of all things else, there is no power in this universe but God's; for he made all things, and all things belong to Him, however considered. God, however, having ordained government, all power and authority necessary to conduct governmental operations^{*} are, of necessity, if not

*[NOTE.—I would not omit to state, however, that when the work was presented to the eminent men for examination whose opinions are quoted, there was nothing written upon the *currency* question; nor was there anything presented that would fairly claim their assent to the views this chapter presents. In justice to them I feel bound to make this statement, and shall now proceed with the argument.]

expressly implied, delegated to those who, by his direction or permission, conduct such operations. Hence in this sense, as the language referred to implies, some things belong to Cæsar, and the question is what things belong to Cæsar? He was the ruler by and through whom the operations of the Roman government were conducted. To administer this government, to conduct its operations, money was essential, and as the Jews had acknowledged the dominion of Cæsar as conqueror, and as the penny showed him bore the image and superscription of Cæsar, our Lord said, evidently meaning not only the tribute money, for that was but *one* thing; but also the obedience and authority to which as a ruler he was entitled. Our Lord moreover did not stop with an answer to the question as propounded, though full and complete. He went further and said; "to God the things that be God's." So that in government Cæsar had not exclusive dominion, potent ruler as he was, entitling him to passive, obedience and unlimited submission. God had things too in this government, and the question is, what things belong to God *in Cæsar's government*. It has been shown government is an instrumentality through which alone civilization can be fostered and developed, and it has been shown when developed civilization is a reflex of a people's religion. It may not be a reflex of the religion they *profess*, but it certainly is a reflex of the religion they *do*. Religion is a mode of worship, and the Jews professed to worship the only living and true God according to the law of Moses; while the Romans, in their mode of worship, according to their religion, recognized neither this Being nor the law of Moses. This command of our Lord then must have meant that the civilization of the Jews must be a reflex of the religion of the Jews—that they must not apostatize and become idolatrous worshippers, as were the Romans. Because *in such a civilization, being a reflex of the religion of the Jews, would be necessarily embraced all the things that belong to God*.

That this is a correct rendition of the things belonging to God and Cæsar respectively there can be no doubt. It gives to the words of our Lord, in their true meaning and intent, a far more potential significance than that assigned

to them by commentators, who limit and restrict them to the subject matter and the occasion that gave them utterance. Not only so: in addition to what has been said, conclusive as it is, I will add, at this time and previously all governmental institutions had been constructed upon a religious foundation with a political superstructure. For, as already shown, no government could exist unless the social state were preserved; and that to preserve the social state without a religion was *impossible*. In such institution, the priests exercised not only a sacerdotal, but also a magisterial authority. To answer the ends designed, however, religion must command our confidence and inspire our faith; but to command our confidence and inspire our faith, a king, priest and prophet that was *infallible* was demanded by the world, and was essential to satisfy its wants and necessities. Such an one is JESUS OF NAZARETH, A DIVINE PERSONAGE, THE SON OF GOD, who, upon his ascension, was crowned "Lord of all," having had conferred upon him all power and authority, ecclesiastical and political, or religious and secular; and who afterwards established a New Kingdom or Church of Christ, and his religion in this New Kingdom is God's own and only system of government, thus making the distinction between this New or Spiritual Kingdom and government such as God ordained *broad and deep*. So that the line between the things of God and the things of Cæsar is not to be drawn, as heretofore, *between* these kingdoms or powers, but *in* the temporal kingdom *in* government. In fact, when this command was given, the Spiritual Kingdom had no existence. It has been shown that religion is not only a mode of worship, but a system of government; and requiring, as it does, an infallible king, priest or prophet, and being essential to government ordained by God in the abstract, it follows such governments must be *kingly, priestly and prophetic in form*.

It does not follow, however, by any means that temporal powers or governments should have a temporal king. Before Messiah's ascension and prior to the establishment of the Spiritual Kingdom, such temporal kings did not even then consist with this religion. For when the Tho-

oratic government of the Jews was formed, there was, by direction of God, an implied, if not express, prohibition of a king. When, therefore, Samuel, one of their judges, said the Jews, in demanding a king, had rejected him as a judge, he is informed it is not Samuel, but the Lord as their King they rejected, and the Prophet, Hosea, informs us that God, in anger, permitted to the Jews a king; while it is very certain, from the period of the inauguration of their first king, with but two intervals, the fortunes of that renowned people were *down grade*, and so continued until their land had been made the very abomination of desolation, and themselves losing their nationality, were scattered among all nations, much less, after the establishment of the Church of Christ, or Spiritual Kingdom, could such pretensions be allowed. For there is *another King, one* JESUS, and he possesses ALL power and authority in heaven and on earth, political and ecclesiastical, or secular and religious. Such assumption of power and authority as a temporal king would be, therefore, an usurpation of the power and authority of the only lawful Sovereign and Ruler of the Universe.

The New Dispensation demanded great and radical changes; for this New Kingdom, or Church of Christ, was to supersede all temporal powers or governments; for its head or king is to put down all rule and authority, secular or religious; for he shall put all things under his feet. This was the chief stumbling block to the Jews, while to the Greeks it was foolishness. Their affections were absorbed in the one great idea of temporal power and temporal aggrandisement. Governmental institutions, previous to and after Messiah's ascension, were and must be religious as well as political, so that through them the Redeemer's kingdom shall be extended, for it must finally supercede them. But now, and since Messiah's ascension and the establishment of this New Kingdom, or Church of Christ, no more sacrificial altars, the sacerdotal authority of the priest belonging to the New Kingdom whose king is not only an infallible king, but also an infallible priest and prophet, requiring all who assume or are entrusted with power and authority in government to act as God

would, were he personally exercising such functions, for *they are God's ministers*. Such is a true rendition of the things that belong to Cæsar and God, respectively, with the obligations they impose.

The tribute money next demands our attention. It has been seen money was as essential to advance in civilization, or even to maintain one's place in its ranks, as to conduct governmental operations.

It has been already shown that civilization is a reflex of a peoples' religion, and if the religion we profess command our confidence and inspire our faith in the development of a civilization embodying the principles and illustrating the sublime precepts of this religion, it would be a rendition to God of all the things that be God's, governmentally considered. Our civilization would then progress *ad infinitum*. And now, having shown in the rendition to Cæsar, as a representative man of temporal powers or governments, that he is entitled to taxes or money sufficient to conduct governmental operations for the purpose governments were ordained of God, whether tribute money or not, and *no more*, it follows that to give more would be virtually to refuse to God what we should render to him. For whatever of a peoples' earnings more than is necessary to conduct governmental operations if given to Cæsar, is virtually to refuse to render to God the things that are God's. Because material aid is essential to advance in a Christian civilization; and through a Christian civilization alone can the Redeemer's Kingdom be extended. Hence, as the abuse of the taxing power can go to such an extent as to prevent the great mass of the poor who, we are assured, we shall always have with us, not only from advancing in civilization, but even from maintaining their places in its ranks and who are consequently outlawed as mendicants, criminals or lunatics; and to be thus outlawed is to be not only thrown without the pale of civilization, but to be left without hope and without God in the world; if the reconstruction proposed will prevent the abuse of the taxing power, all who seek to extend the Redeemer's Kingdom should aid in the adoption of the reconstruction proposed. For just as certain as our selfish feelings predominate, if such

abuse of the taxing power can be, it will be perpetrated. That the evils engendered by such abuse do hinder, impede and obstruct the free course of the Word, so that it cannot be glorified so far as these victims are concerned, is too plain for argument; but for them the Saviour died, for he died for all. Not only so: evil does not inhere in any ordinance of God, for that would be to make him the author of evil, which is impossible. Hence from this ordinance of God, evil may be eliminated; at least to such an extent as will make it subserve the beneficent purposes designed by the Beginant Being who ordained government. And here, in its religious aspect, the argument in favor of the reconstruction proposed as a remedy for *social and political evils—the products only of defective government*, while the evidence of a *diseased civilization*—might well close. But such is the perversity of human nature and the force of error long entertained and deeply rooted, I will present this subject in another aspect that must be conclusve to every rational mind.

The *pros* and *cons*—arguments for and against—may not be conclusive on a question of right or wrong. But let us suppose the one or the other view presented to be correct, and follow it out to its legitimate results; if these shock the *moral sense* we know that view of the question must be wrong.

We will then proceed upon the assumption that it is the duty of professing Christians, under the command of our Lord, to pay tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom is due; that is to say, whatever taxes Cæsar, the temporal power or government, may levy should be paid, just or unjust; that this command of our Lord imposes only the obligation of passive obedience and unlimited submission of all Christians to the powers that be in reference to taxes, because the powers that be are ordained of God. If there is any one obligation more forcibly imposed upon Christians than any other, it is to care for the *poor*, not only as to their temporal, but also as to their spiritual wants and necessities. Under the old dispensation, such instances are numberless; and that informs us, as a reason I suppose for the obligations thus imposed, that the poverty of he poor is their destruction.

It has been shown, however, that through the abuse of the taxing power, directly and indirectly, vast numbers of the poor find themselves out of their earnings, not only unable to advance in civilization, but unable even to maintain their places in its ranks, because so much is taken as taxes that it leaves not enough for such purpose. They are then thrown upon Cæsar or the government for care and protection—upon the very persons and instrumentality whereby they have been reduced to this condition. Of course, then, their wants and necessities would be circumscribed within the very narrowest limits. As a consequence, they sink lower and lower, until finally they become degraded. From degraded beings, the ranks of criminals are recruited. And this class, finding themselves thus degraded through poverty, and without any fault of theirs, will run the risk of perpetrating crime to *rise above* this degradation, and thus become criminals. This class is strongly reinforced by another class, who, finding themselves helplessly and hopelessly sinking into the degradation which poverty entails, will, in order to *keep above* such degradation, perpetrate crime; for, if poverty degrades and crime can do nothing more, where's the difference? While there is a third class who revolt at the degradation from either cause, and in preference abdicate humanity—commit suicide. While there is yet another class who, through harassing cares and anxieties, are driven to insanity in their endeavors to escape such degradation.

Now it has been shown, and conclusively shown, that social evils, all of which may be summed up in mendicancy, crime and insanity, and the political evils we suffer, result from the assumption that God imposes no obligation upon Christians to resist the abuse of the taxing power; and of course, if no such obligations are imposed upon Christians, no one is under such obligations; for whose duty is it upon such assumption to resist the powers that be? It has also been shown, and conclusively shown, that as a consequence of these evils our civilization is retrograding; and as a consequence of this, there is a fierce and fanatical struggle, from which there has not only been a frightful increase in these evils, but from it have been

evolved all the moral and political phenomena that so lamentably characterize our times, and among them this mania for strong drink. So frightful has the intemperate use of alcoholic liquors become that, at a fair estimate, sixty thousand persons annually perish from this one evil alone; while thereby incalculable misery and suffering are entailed upon ten times that number of women and children, putting them on the road to ruin, to become mendicants, criminals and lunatics. That is to say, more than half a million of women and children are thus annually sacrificed.

When Jonah regretted, the Ninevites, by a timely repentance, had averted the threatened destruction, he was given by the Lord to understand there were in Ninevah one hundred and twenty thousand little children that did not know the right hand from the left, and much cattle. See, God was merciful.

Now of this more than half million of human beings, women and children, it is fair to suppose there are more than one hundred and twenty thousand little children who do not know the right hand from the left. A greater than Jonah has said, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven; and he took them in his arms and blessed them. Yet we christians, so-called, drive the little ones from the Saviour; and thus it is, placed beyond the pale of civilization, and left without hope and without God in the world, women and children—in being consigned to a *death that lives*, while denied a *life that dies*—are worse victimized than are the victims of that sanguinary monster, Juggernaut, who are at once crushed to death beneath the wheels of his ponderous car. And if this be not enough to *shock the moral sense, nothing, nothing can*. Throughout all heathendom a parallel can not be found, neither as to the number and character of the victims immolated, nor as to the infernal orgies around the sacrificial altars.

The argument is conclusive and irresistible in favor of the structure of government proposed, in its religious as well as in its political aspect; not only because such structure would be a rendition to God as well as to Cæsar of the things belonging to each, respectively, but that to pro-

ceed upon the assumption such rendition was not true, would lead to results at which not only would the *judgment revolt*, but which would *shock the moral sense*. 'Would lead, did I say? Yes, and *have* led to such results, although revolting to the judgment and shocking to the moral sense. For they show we have been brought down to the social degradation of the heathen—a degradation no civilization can long survive, while it is very certain no people can long survive their civilization. So that to the perils of a transition period, through which few peoples, if any, pass in safety, have been added the *terrors* of a day of *retribution*. For proof let us bear in mind, although the religion we profess is a remedy for sin, for all human ills, to-day human ills are more numerous, more aggravated, and threaten more fatal results than ever before since the dawn of modern civilization.

The characteristic of the *heathen* world is their sacrifice of human victims. We do the same thing, only not in the same way; our own mode being less merciful, ourselves being witnesses, for multitudes, in order to escape our sacrificial altars abdicate humanity—commit suicide. And how has this retrograde civilization been brought about? Through government, of course, because government is the *only* instrumentality through which civilization can be developed. That it is owing to defective government there can be no doubt, for this fact has been demonstrated; and that, owing to the abuse of the taxing power, those who conduct its operations, finding labor unable to supply the amount required for this purpose, resort to the *vices* of the people to supply the deficiency. Under the false and miserable pretext of preventing crime, they sanction vice in the laws governing the manufacture and sale of liquors. To sanction vice, however, is to encourage vice, and to encourage vice is to encourage crime. This is true, office-holders themselves being witnesses; for judges charge grand jurors that the immediate cause of nine-tenths of the pauperism and mendicancy and crime is the intemperate use of alcoholic liquors. It is fair to presume that not only judges, but every other office-holder, from the President down, puts more or less of this money

in their pockets; and it is—if what they say be true, that the intemperate use of liquors is the cause of nearly all the pauperism and crime—fair to presume more or less of this money is moistened with tears of women and children, and often stained with blood. Some, however, if not all who are sent to the penitentiary for putting money in their pockets, do so to satisfy hunger, which is neither moistened with tears nor stained with blood; and who, before the righteous Judge of all the earth, is the more guilty, the officeholder or the penitentiary convict? When one sees an instrumentality ordained of God, for purposes the most beneficent, so degraded that after reducing the people to poverty, encourages to vice and drives to crime and insanity, we might well ask, Could political prostitution go further, or sink a people to a lower depth?

I have meant nothing personally offensive to officeholders nor to liquor dealers, wholesale or retail. In this country all such are the agents of the people, and whatever one does by his agent he does by himself; and such being the case, every citizen who does not bring all his influence to bear for remedying these evils, is in the same category with officeholders and liquor dealers; and not only so: in the sight of God he is just as criminal as are the victims of this mania for strong drink, and of all other evils flowing from the same source.

Dr. Wayland says, in his work on Political Economy, when an instrumentality (that is government), designed as the ultimate and faithful refuge of the friendless, becomes an instrumentality of injustice and oppression, it is then that people, believing that no change can be for the worse, rush into the horrors of civil war, when the sword enters every house, and the holiest ties that bind men together are sundered, and no prophet can tell the end from the beginning. Is not this precisely our case and condition? Millions are collected mainly through the misery and suffering inflicted upon women and children, not only the most friendless but the most innocent and helpless of the community! Well may Dr. Wayland ask, When the antidote to evil becomes the source of civil war, what hope for man is left? And what is civil war? *National suicide.* What

says the righteous Judge of all the earth? When I send my judgments upon a people they need not think to escape—no, although they had among them such men as Noah and Daniel and Job. I sayeth the Righteous Judge give them up to *sorrow and drunkenness*. Have we not enough of this? Can we not disearn the cup of forbearance is full to overflowing on account drunkenness grown to be an evil of such an appalling magnitude? More over sayeth the Righteous Judge *I-darken their understanding*. Look at the frightful increase in insanity, nine-tenths of whom it may be said are not bereft of reason through providential visitation but through harassing cares and anxieties.

Even the pagan understands whom the gods intend to destroy they first make mad; so that the christian real or so-called can read his fate without the aid of a dictionary or of magnifying glasses in the teachings of history profane and sacred, peoples *persih through suicide*. And yet so-called christians instead of repenting in sackcloth and ashes are challenging a fate more intolerable if possible than that denounced against the Ninevites and more intolerable if possible than that visited upon the cities of the Plains. For although a greater than Jonah has appeared we are still following “the multitude to do evil.” Like the so-called statesmen and politicians following the *false public opinion*, when traced to its source the false public opinion of the so-called statesman and the so-called christians when traced to their source it will be found have a common origin being rooted and deeply rooted in the doctrine of *total depravity*; as I shall now proceed to show. All know the public opinion true or false governs the world; but what constitutes the public opinion is the first question which presents itself? It is composed of two elements: moral and physical power, or moral power and *force*. Moral power has its source and origin in religion, and its influence depends upon the extent to which the religion we profess commands our confidence and inspires our faith. Professions being merely expressions of opinion are of little or no consequence; and hence the saying “error of opinion,” may be tolerated, because the faith thus inspired is without works, and is therefore a *dead faith*. The faith

that takes hold of doctrine, however, is a *living* faith, because doctrine impels to action, and thus faith produces work. This is the faith that the Apostle meant when he said, Show me your works, and I will tell you your faith; for faith being an instinct of the human heart, where the treasure is, there the heart will be. Hence if the doctrine be true, the moral power in its *ascendancy over force* will predominate, and we shall have the *true* public opinion. Whereas if the doctrine be false, physical power or force will in its ascendancy over moral power create the *false* public opinion. So that accordingly as the moral power or force predominates, we have the true or the false public opinion. And since, whether true or false, public opinion rules the world, upon the public opinion man's happiness or misery mainly depends. Man was created to be happy and was happy. He was also created a free agent, and as such his selfish feelings necessarily predominated. Because if the selfish and social feelings were in equilibrium, he might or might not be a free agent; for then it would depend upon circumstances whether he acted upon his own volition or not. If the social predominated he would be at the bidding of others. So in neither case supposed; but only in the predominance of the selfish feelings could he be a free agent. To be a free agent, freedom of choice is indispensable. To choose reason is essential; so also in choosing to do right or wrong, there must be a sense of right and wrong to determine him in his choice, and which we call conscience. So that man as a free agent was created a physical being; having bones and muscles, thews and sinews to till, to cultivate the garden; he was also an intellectual being; having reason to enable him to choose, and a moral being having a conscience to inform as to what was right and what was wrong. Being created a free agent, responsibility attaches, and where responsibility exists obligations may be imposed, and were imposed, to keep the law of his creator. Having freedom of choice to obey or disobey, and an infallible conscience of right and wrong, he violated that law, and in its violation he sinned, and sin being the law-breaking power, the anarchic passions, as animosity, hatred and ill-will, were engendered, which destroyed

his happiness; for *hate* makes man *miserable*. Not only so: he forfeited his life, for the wages of sin is death. Such and so great was the ruin wrought. But all who recognize the existence of the only living and true God, recognize Him as a being all-wise, all powerful and every where present—omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent; and not only so, as a being altogether benevolent, benignant. And if so, the works of his providence must be commensurate with the works of his creation. Man was created to be happy and was happy, yet his happiness was destroyed. How is his happiness to be restored? He was *created to live*, yet he has forfeited his life and must die; how then can he live? In the consummation of the plan of redemption through the religion of the Son of God, man may not only recover all he has lost, but *more*. For although the anarchic passions engendered by sin have made him miserable as a victim of hate, and his free agency is so much impaired, his reason so clouded, his conscience so much perverted, that he can not choose to obey the law of God as to works, his free agency is not *annihilated*, for his selfish feelings essential in his creation to his free agency *survive*; his intellect tho' clouded is not entirely darkened; his conscience, though perverted and no longer infallible, is not silenced; so that he may yet choose to obey the gospel, which is the law of love, and if he choose to love God supremely, and because he loves God supremely is constrained by the love of Christ to love his fellow man as himself, because he so loved them as to give his life for them, he will *enjoy happiness here in this present time*. And not only so; though he die, the *race is to be perpetuated, to live*; and love being a sublime sentiment of the soul, and therefore *indestructible*, he shall also *enjoy the heavenly felicity hereafter*; and hence it is true, "*though a man die, yet shall he live again*." Because this religion is a *remedy* for sin; and not only lifts the sinner out of sin, but places him beyond the power of sin. So that he truly gains more than was lost, for this religion has brought life and immortality to light, making those who obey the gospel "in Christ complete." But since no remedy applies itself, and since conscience is no longer an infallible guide,

and since it would not be just and merciful to require one to do right, without instruction as to what was right and how to do right, to make the works of providence commensurate with the works of creation, a *revelation* from God to man was also essential, making known to man this sovereign remedy for sin with *directions* for its application, that he may know how to do right and be happy.

How was this remedy to be made known? How could it be made known but through the utterances of the Holy Spirit—holy men speaking as by the Spirit they were moved to speak. Such a revelation is contained in the Bible. It furnishes us instructions for the performance of our duties in all the relations of life. It furnishes us all that is essential to the soul's salvation, in making known to us this sovereign remedy for sin, with directions for its application so plain that the wayfaring man, though a simpleton, could not err therein, and is therefore a guide to our consciences. All, then, who admit God's works of providence are commensurate with His works of creation are bound to accept the Bible as inspired, or furnish one answering these purposes as well, and as well or better authenticated. Man knows he is miserable, yet wishes to be happy, and believes he was once happy. Of all rewards, happiness is the most coveted.

Has mere human wisdom ever revealed to man a solution of the problem, How to be happy? Look around and about us; what do we see but destitution, misery and suffering? To ask is to answer the question: No, no.

"By the wonderful powers of the mind—the powers of analysis combination and generalization—man may trace causes to their effect; he may resolve complex subjects into to their elements; he may raise himself from a mere gazer at the stars to the high intellectual eminence of Newton and La Place, and astronomy itself from a mere collection of isolated facts to that beautiful science which displays to our admiration the system of the universe." But tell me, oh tell me, was there ever brought within the range of telescopic vision, the planetary system however vast, the constellation however brilliant, that could compare in its effulgent glory with that star revealed to shep-

herds in their nightly watch upon Judea's plains, and to the repositories of human learning, the magi of the East, when the good news, the glad tidings, the great joy of peace on earth and good will toward man, was brought down from heaven on angel wings, and proclaimed by angel voices, amid allelujah shouts of glory to God in the highest! Tell me, oh tell me, did ever seer or prophet behold a horoscope of earthly king or potentate that could compare in glory with that cast by the star that proclaimed the natal day of our New-born King, the Prince of Peace, which displayed in letters of living light, the gospel—a remedy for all human ills. Why then is not this remedy applied? Because the directions for its application have not been followed, as I shall now proceed to show.

At the commencement of His ministry upon earth, its divine author said, The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me to preach the gospel to the poor; to open the prison doors and let the captives go free, etc., etc. What did He mean? The poor constitute a vast majority of all populations; and Solomon tells us, "the *poverty* of the poor is their destruction." And on account of the trials and temptations to which more than all others they are subject, during his sojourn upon earth, our Lord not only made to this class his most affectionate appeals, and to them showed his most wonderful condescensions, but upon all his followers was repeatedly and solemnly enjoined a care and consideration for them; and above all, that the gospel should be preached to them. Because He knew, if preached to them in sincerity and in truth, it would, and was the *only* power that would, resist successfully the gravitation of poverty to degradation; and hence the poverty of the poor would no longer be their destruction. For then our civilization, being a reflex of His religion, would progress *ad infinitum*; and through the temporal blessings vouchsafed to us by the unchangeable Jehovah, we should have material prosperity; and materially prosperous, the poor could earn a subsistence and also advance in civilization—leaving only the naturally imbecile a charge upon christians, so few in numbers as to be no burden to them; while the criminal would be only monsters in human shape, who

would perpetrate crime for the sake of crime; and the lunatics only those bereft of reason by providential visitation; and all together would be no burden to any community. Then, indeed, the prison doors might well be opened, for there would be few or no prisoners to confine. But the gospel has not been, and is not, preached to the poor. Excuses are useless and out of place—the fact is as alleged. And, as a consequence, we have a civilization that would shame the enlightened pagan, and which it would be blasphemous to call Christian; for the plain reason that, in failing or refusing to preach the gospel to the poor—who, as already stated, constitute a vast majority of all populations, and who, we are assured, we shall always have with us—the gospel has been eliminated from the social state or society; and since those who compose the social state also compose the body politic, it has also been eliminated from the body politic. And hence it is, having been eliminated from the social state and body politic, the gospel, though the sum and substance of all truth, is, as to them, an *abstract* truth; and hence as truth in the abstract, as already conclusively shown, is of *no practical value*, we see how social and political evils are engendered that so effectually hinder and impede the free course of the Word, so that it can *not be glorified in the application of the gospel as a remedy for sin; nor, as a consequence, as a remedy for social and political evils.*

Social and political evils, it has been shown, result from a *diseased civilization*, which is the result of *defective* government. True; the moral sense of many having been shocked at such results, who, being charitably disposed and piously inclined, have sought through benefactions, public and private, and the establishment of eleemosynary institutions, to remedy the disease; but all to no purpose. In fact, if the object of those who employ such reasons be, as it is fair to presume, to *prevent degradation*, according to all human experience in all lands, pagan and so-called Christian, it has defeated its aim and purpose. In ancient Rome, when the poor were fed by the State from the public crib, what a change was wrought in the character of the noble and independent Roman! No longer self-reliant, having thereby lost his self-respect, we no longer hear from

him the exclamation once uttered with pride and exultation, "I am a Roman Citizen!" How long in a like condition, under like circumstances, could we expect our own countrymen to feel and to act under the inspiration of a far nobler sentiment than influenced the Roman, and which should animate every citizen of a Christian land, that "having learned to fear God, they know no other fear." Not only so: while such means could not prevent degradation, but might under some circumstances prevent a degradation that would directly lead to punishment, at times like these—although the duty is always obligatory upon Christians to relieve the unfortunate—they could not if they would. The only hope is to put the gospel truth in the concrete, so that it may be applied as a remedy for sin, through a *christian civilization*, as in the reconstruction proposed, which is really a rendition to God of the things that be God's, as well as to Cæsar of the things that be Cæsar's.

This doctrine of total depravity teaches such rendition in the reconstruction proposed is impossible; and not only so: although the remedy for sin is sovereign, with directions for its application, such as to choose, to believe, to repent, to turn, etc.; in a word, to obey the gospel, the law of love. This doctrine teaches we can do none of these things—cannot even choose, and cannot, because totally depraved, apply the remedy. Milton, it is conceded, has reconciled man's free agency and God's justice and mercy with the ruin of the fall, upon the ground that "reason is choice." Upon the assumption that God's works of creation and providence are commensurate, man has now the same freedom of choice he had in his creation—not, it is true, to obey the moral law, or law of works, but to obey the gospel, the law of love. If, however, reason is choice, and man cannot choose, he cannot reason, and must therefore be either an idiot, a mad man, or brute. But this doctrine is not only shown to be absurd, but false—utterly false; for it not only denies God's works of creation and providence are commensurate, but proceeds upon the monstrous assumption that there is *no difference* between *depravity* and *degradation*. Man may be depraved in his manners, in his morals, in his religious convictions, and we may *degrade*

the man, but we cannot *deprave* the man. Not only so: in teaching that one is depraved because he is degraded, leads to the conclusion if he is not degraded he is not depraved, and is therefore the very leaven of the pharisees, of which the Saviour cautioned his followers to beware, for it teaches, "I am holier than thou." I have money and I have property; I am above want and destitution, and shall not be degraded, and therefore I am not totally depraved. Thou hast neither money nor property; art not therefore above want and destitution, and may be degraded; therefore thou art wholly depraved. Accordingly, through close corporations, edifices, called churches, are constructed that vie with ancient pagan temples in magnificence. The visitors to ancient pagan temples were mainly the rich, because they could leave offerings; and, it is alleged, this class mainly constitute the Sunday visitors to the modern church—though it was claimed, as an evidence of the truth and excellence of Christian religion, that rich and poor worshipped together. However this may be though, the advocates of this doctrine are seldom degraded; but who are the most depraved, the advocates of this doctrine, or those who are made the victims of social and political evils? Which, according to this doctrine, are *irremediable*, I leave the public to decide. But what is more than all, and worse than all, this doctrine, in denying to man *volition*, *annihilates* his free agency; and, in annihilating his free agency, renders the ruin of the fall *irreparable*, for it subjects him to the rule of *force*. It has been urged with great plausibility that, to employ force, was the temptation of our Lord when the vision of universal monarchy was presented to him. The temptation appealing to his humanity thereby; why become a man of sorrows, acquainted with grief, and finally to suffer crucifixion, when, having an omnipotent power, you can rule the world by *force*? However this may be, the gospel repudiates force; and whoever appeals to force, repudiates the gospel. Accordingly, we construct penitentiaries that, in their sombre and gloomy appearance, contrast strikingly with the magnificence of our churches; and while to the Sunday visitors to our churches is preached the law of love, to the inmates of the penitentiaries the law of force

is not only preached, but practiced. Through these so-called reformatory institutions, if the gospel cannot, *we can reform* them. So we not only employ force, but make merchandise of them. We deny to them, as an incentive, the earnings of their own labor, as that would be in derogation of the law of force; and, to make their reformation more complete, we send them forth from their prison in a manner as penniless and friendless as was Hager of ancient renown—only, instead of sending them into a wilderness, we place them in society, but under the ban of a false public opinion as totally depraved. Not only so: but as vast numbers, in their efforts to escape degradation, the penalty of the total depravity doctrine, through the harassing cares and anxieties of a so-called Christian civilization, are bereft of reason, we construct asylums, in their external appearances vying with our churches. But their inmates, while escaping the odium of total depravity, are yet subjected to the law of force, according as medical treatment requires. I beg leave now to ask, What is the object in thus expending so much money—aggregating many millions? Christians can neither hope nor expect to supercede thereby the gospel, though that is the effect so far as these inmates of prisons and asylums are concerned. They must know that neither money nor medical skill can remedy social or political evils. Is it not the necessity for the preservation of society or the social state these millions are expended? This is the necessity. But since it has been shown that the higher sanctions essential to the preservation of the social state could be found only in religion, is it not plain to the humblest understanding, in seeking through such expenditures of millions in constructing prisons and asylums, that the melancholy truth is, that the religion we profess does *not* command our confidence and inspire our faith, and that the total depravity doctrine is only an excuse for this want of faith or unbelief? And if so, how can we exult at these evidences of a so-called Christian civilization, before which the amphitheaters of pagan Rome, with their gladiatorial exhibitions, grow pale? Yet we boast that, having advanced so prodigiously in a so-called Christian civilization, under the glare and glitter of materialism, we

are directing our earnest attention to Christianizing the heathen world, through missionary operations. True, we cannot prevent the degradation of our own people, nor when degraded lift them out of sin, because totally depraved; but then we can lift the heathen out of sin, though degraded as well as depraved—always provided we can get *money* enough.

Can any one tell me in what quarter of the globe the flag of conquest and subjugation has not floated along side the ensign upheld by the heralds of the cross? So this doctrine, at home or abroad, creates a public opinion sanctioning *force*, and must result, carried out to its legitimate end, in that abhorred union of Church and State, so-called. This is the doctrine that has chained martyrs to the stake, and shed so much of innocent blood that if collected in one grand reservoir its advocates might well nigh swim in it. This is the doctrine that has drenched this land in blood, and brought us to the low estate to which we are reduced. And not only so: it has produced a lethargy and indifference, a *vis inertia*, well nigh impossible to overcome. And, unless repudiated; who so blind as not to see in “the rapid progress of those inauspicious events which for years past have been casting their ill-boding shadows before them,” that the final catastrophe which marked the period of Messiah’s advent is inevitable—now, as then, the demolition of existing institutions, when likewise perished civilizations and peoples? Attesting, by the highest authority, sacred and profane, the divinity of Jesus of Nazareth, whose mission was *duplex*—the establishment of the Spiritual Kingdom and governments in accord therewith. There was nothing in the works or words of the Saviour while on earth to excite prejudice towards him. To-day the Jews declare he was an eminently good man. But that renowned people at one time possessed great material prosperity, and power, and dominion. And although, through adverse fortune, brought very low, they still expected through force a restoration to power and dominion, with a material prosperity surpassing anything of a like kind they had ever realized. And these expectations were predicated upon the Messiah’s advent. But when he came, although the

Roman yoke was very galling, he did not exert physical power to relieve them from the dominion of that cast-iron government; but proclaimed a New Dispensation. The democratic government constructed by God's direction, they reasoned, must survive the Roman, cast-iron as it was, and we can bear the Roman yoke, as galling as it is. But then here is Jesus, and he proclaims a New Dispensation; and on account of his wonderful works, his sublime precepts, the people love him. If, however, we substitute the New Dispensation for the old, all hopes of a temporal kingdom that will surpass Solomon's in all its glory must vanish. How then to defeat this New Dispensation was the question. The conclusion was to crucify its divine author which they did. The Romans allowed the great apostle to preach this dispensation without molestation, until it became patent the religion of the Romans no longer commanded their confidence and inspired their faith; while the religion preached by Paul was fast gaining the ascendancy. But if this religion be substituted for, paganism the Cæsars would no longer be Pontifex Maximus or High Priest, and the throne of the Cæsars must topple. So they slaughtered Paul, as his own countrymen had his Master before him. Subsequent events, in their fulfillment of prophetic declarations, prove conclusively the religion of Jesus of Nazareth was of divine origin, and of course that its author was a divine personage; and that those civilized peoples alone could hope to survive whose civilization is indeed a reflex of *their* religion. Yet whenever it is proposed to ameliorate the condition of the race, through the greatest of earthly blessings—good government—through which a Christian civilization may be developed, whereby humanity may be exalted, we are met with a false public opinion, created by this total depravity doctrine—of all doctrines the most abominable. It paralyzes all efforts, because it crushes out all hope. To-day we are as effectually as the Jews, though not in the same way, hindering, impeding and obstructing the free course of the Word. And unless governmental institutions make way for this New Dispensation, which “alone contains a key to the doubts and mysteries by which the mind is agitated whenever

raised above the mere objects of sense," *now*, as at the period referred to, "the cloud-capped tower, the gorgeous palace—aye, the solemn temple itself shall be toppled to the ground and leveled with the dust!" And what, let me ask, is this depravity in which this pernicious doctrine so persistently inculcated is so deeply rooted? Theologians, as well as lexicographers, define sin to be "a native depravity of the heart;" and since "all words and their definitions are convertible terms," then depravity, whether total or partial, must be sin. And since God, in his infinite mercy and goodness, has provided, in the religion of his Son, a remedy for sin, the chief end of man should be to glorify God; because if "sin has abounded, *grace* much more abounds." How glorify God? In the *application of this religion as a remedy for sin*; and which, if a remedy for sin, must be a preventive of *degradation*. Its Divine Author said, "I am come that they might have life, and that more abundantly." Hence man will see in this religion those higher sanctions essential to the preservation of the social state—the preservation of which is essential to the continued existence of the race, that it might live, and develop a civilization the reflex of this religion—such a civilization being essential not only to prevent degradation, but also to the exaltation of humanity and man's happiness. No one who will read Presscott's "Conquest of Peru," and learn of the civilization developed under the government of the Incas, can doubt the possibility of a civilization that shall be a reflex of the religion of Jesus, if this religion commands his confidence and inspires his faith. And then, if he will read the work of the great Christian philosopher, Dick, on Covetousness, and learn how, through the abuse of the taxing power, there are concentrated in the hands of a few families within a radius of twenty or thirty miles around London money and wealth enough to pay the national debt of England, though so enormous as to defy computation; and then if he will consider the millions on millions expended for the confinement and punishment of the victims who, owing to the abuse of the taxing power, are directly and indirectly, through governmental oppression and injustice, degraded, he will see that men are driv-

en to the total depravity doctrine to find an excuse for the social and political evils thus engendered, and the misery and suffering thence resulting. Not only so: if he will consider that material aid is essential to extend and advance the Redeemer's kingdom, he will see in the prostitution of a material prosperity flowing from the temporal blessings covenanted by Jehovah, to ends so ignoble a reason all-powerful for the reconstruction herein proposed; not only because it would be virtually a rendition to God, *in a Christian civilization, of all* the things that belong to God, but also because, in *preventing* degradation, it will supercede the vast expenditures to *punish the degraded*—supercede even all public and private benefactions, but for temporary relief. Because it will, in superceding the law of *force*, put in active exercise the motor power of the religion of the Son of God, in that sublime sentiment of the soul, "love." And thus he will rise from the platform of the human philanthropy to which the love of fame invites, to the platform of the divine philanthropy. For, while throughout the measureless past, as well as in the living present, liberty has been and is man's pleasing hope, his fond desire, he will realize that where there is no religious liberty. there can be civil liberty; for "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." So that in superceding the law of *force*, he is gradually extending that kingdom, wherein alone prevails the perfect law of liberty.

This, then, is the question, Christians: Will you choose to *prevent* degradation, or to punish the degraded? Choose ye this day whom you will serve. If the Lord be God, serve Him; if the Mammon of all unrighteousness, "the least erected spirit that fell from heaven," be God, then serve him—serve him in the inculcation of a doctrine that must, sooner or later, consign all who embrace it to a fate worse than "fable ever yet hath feigned, or fear conceived."

But let us hope, under the TRUE PUBLIC OPINION, for a civilization the reflex of the only religion that can prevent degradation—that can ameliorate the condition of the race and exalt humanity—a civilization that progress *ad infinitum*, with an intellection constantly expanding; with a material

and moral condition constantly improving; because accompanied by blessings temporal and spiritual—temporal blessings in a material prosperity, through a *Christian* civilization that will ere long bring about that happy period of which inspired men have delighted to speak. A faith that glorifies God in works—that reflects the light of His glory—must be a *rational* faith; and under its inspiration, we shall behold,

“Ere long, a fairer morn arise,
 ’Mid purer airs and brighter skies;
 When Force shall lay his scepter down,
 And Strength shall abdicate his crown.”

For, if we but listen,

“E’en now we’ll hear, with inward strife,
 A motion toiling in the gloom,
 The spirit of the years to come,
 Yearning to mix himself with life.

“A slow developed strength awaits
 Completion in a painful school;
 Phantoms of other forms of Rule,
 New Majesties of mighty States.

“The warders of the growing hour,
 Though vague in vapor, hard to mark,
 And round them sea and air are dark,
 With great contrivances of power.”

APPENDIX.

These statements, by way of synopsis of Magna Charta, are taken from Prof. Dew's Compend of Ancient and Modern History.

Provisions of Magna Charta embraced all the orders of society—the clergy, the aristocracy and the people. It defined the main feudal rights. But its essential clauses are those protecting personal liberty and property. Speedy and equal justice was promised to all; trial by jury was established from this time forward; the courts awarded the *habeas corpus* privilege to all, and it was ordained that justice shall neither be sold, denied, nor delayed.

The barons had been successful against King John, who repeatedly violated his oath to respect the charter—at the expense of strife and bloodshed, however.

Guaranty to the Faithful observance of Magna Charta.—Sounds curiously enough to a modern ear that the only guaranty to this important charter was that of *force*, the right of resistance. Twenty-five barons were chosen as conservators of the compact. If the king violated any article, any four might demand reparation; if refused, it was carried before the rest, who might do justice by levying war on the king—the charter containing the provision that in such case the twenty-five barons, with all the commons of the land, “shall distrain and annoy us by every means in their power—that is, by seizing our castles, lands and possessions, and every other mode, till the wrong shall be repaired to their satisfaction, saving our person and our queen and children. And when it is repaired, they shall obey us as before.” Curious, says Hallam, to see common law of distress upon so grand a scale, and capture of king's castle treated as an analogous to impounding neighbor's horse for breaking fence. (431.)

This guaranty of force seems to have been the principal one known to mediæval ages. We find it admitted, though carefully regulated, among the laws of St. Louis in France—*e. g.*: If a lord called on his vassal to march against the king, the vassal was first to ascertain from the king whether he had refused the lord justice; if he had, then the vassal was to go with the lord against the sovereign. (G. 442.) And this remedy was frequently resorted to—*e. g.*: William, Earl of Pembroke, whom we have mentioned above, invaded the king's (Henry III.) domains, sword in hand, to obtain satisfaction, and when called to account by the king, he told him that justice had been denied him; that he was therefore absolved from all homage, and at liberty to employ force; and told him further that it

would not be for his (the king's) honor that he should submit to injustice; nor did Henry deny this right, however he may have supposed the earl to have misapplied it. (H. 431.)

Henry III., son of John, succeeds him, and is as faithless in his oaths to observe charter. For the purpose of obtaining money, he violated his oath to observance of charter five times, and every time barons resorted to some new device to enforce observance of same.

Inadequacy of force as a guaranty of constitutional rights.—Evident that right of insurrection is a very inadequate sanction. 1st. Levying of war produces the most lamentable consequences, and therefore subject party would submit to great oppression before they would have recourse to so disastrous a remedy. 2d. The oppressing party being the government, and therefore the organized party, is too apt to prevail in the contest. 3d. There is a *vis inertiae* in every large body which disposes it to persevere in present order of things until it is overcome by powerful impulse. Now if the *vis inertiae republicæ* is on the side of the king and against the people, liberty can never be secure. This is the case where our remedy is resistance. If the king commits an act of tyranny, you are obliged to overcome the *vis inertiae* of the people before you can apply your remedy. But although this remedy was so inadequate, yet we cannot admire less the constancy and wisdom of the barons in their struggle against the crown. They were men of good heads and firm hearts; they fought and got their charters; they made their kings swear to maintain them; they had them read in the county courts; and if violated anew, they were ready always to renew the struggle, and to devise some new check on the monarch.

Formation of Parliament only effective guaranty of the liberties of England. To the individual of the present day, who looks back over the long line of British history, it is but too manifest that the only permanent security to English liberty has been furnished by the gradual development of the parliament with its controlling powers. So soon as the powers of this body are acknowledged by both people and king, it became necessary to secure the action of parliament before the king could oppress; consequently the *vis inertiae* was now in favor of liberty.

William the Conqueror only called together the great barons. As the lesser barons separated from the king's council, they merged into county population, and united with the freeholders in attending to business of county. John, in order successfully to oppose barons, has these summoned as representatives of the shire or county, but they united firmly with the barons against the king.

During whole reign of Henry III. struggle between barons and king continued, each trying to favor these county representatives, until finally the principle was recognized that representation and taxation must go together. Finally barons got the ascendancy. Leicester heads the malcontent party; his victory at Lewes puts king and his son in his possession, and makes him ruler of the

kingdom. Forgets that a coalition of the barons had won the victory; refuses to them any share of the ransom money. This put a counter revolution in motion to destroy Leicester's power. To sustain himself, when it became necessary to call a parliament, Leicester ordered the cities and some of the principal towns and boroughs to send as burgesses *two* representatives each. This was due to the growing importance of commerce and the trades—hardly then to be called manufacturing establishments. Commerce had flourished under Anglo-Saxon rule; under Norman rule had declined, and the places now to be represented by burgesses were commercial and trade centers. As they became more wealthy, their representation became a necessity, as they could not be taxed unless represented. The burgesses, however, or representatives of corporate cities and towns, refused to pay the imposts or custom dues, set their commerce at liberty, aided the barons in overthrowing the Leicester government, and established the kingly. Before this time the kings employed the judges on the circuits to levy contributions on the cities, and in times of First and Second Henrys the sheriffs collected these contributions.

In 1295 Edward was engaged in war with France, and greatly in want of men and money. Philip le Bel was threatening invasion of England; here all interests were concerned. Hence parliament, the fullest that had ever been called. Two assemblies met—one ecclesiastic, other lay. In former were archbishops, bishops, sixty-seven abbots, the grand masters of three religious orders, as also deputies from the chapters and inferior clergy. These deputies were ordered to get instructions from their constituents before they came, in order to be able to act decisively in regard to means for defence of kingdom. This whole body was about 160. [490.] In the lay parliament, there were present forty-nine barons, two knights from each county, and two burgesses from each town; and the writs directed the sheriffs to take care that these deputies should get full powers from their constituents, that the business of parliament might be dispatched without delay. One hundred and twenty towns received their summons. The barons and deputies of counties voted one-eleventh of their movables to the king; the burgesses one-seventh; and the clergy, after a long struggle, gave one-tenth of their ecclesiastical revenues.

From this time forward parliament was definitely established. We know of its convocation at least eleven times in the twelve last years of Edward I., and almost every time the deputies from the cities and counties were in attendance. The principle that no class could be taxed without its consent was settled. In the parliament (1299) writs were directed to the two chancellors of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to order them to send four or five deputies from Oxford, and two or three from Cambridge, for the king wanted their money, as well as their counsel.

Garte fixes the organization of parliament in two separate houses

in the seventeenth year of Edward III. (1344.) Parliamentary history fixes it in the sixth of this monarch; Hallam in the first (Edward III.] if not the 8th year of Edward II. This diversity occasioned by the various circumstances regarded as evidence of the separation into two houses. Sometimes this organization inferred from county and city deputies being in same house, sometimes from discussion together, sometimes from uniting their votes on the same question, etc. Instead of looking for date precise, best to cite causes which led to it. At first all the barons who alone were in parliament of course sat together. When were distinguished into first and second dignity, still all sat together. When the knights of shires came to parliament always sat with the barons, for they were mainly, as we have seen, the deputies of the inferior barons, who had gradually disappeared from parliament.

When the burgesses came they were a new order, not at all feudal in character, and were thrown into a body to themselves, which is proved by votes given for subsidies, *e. g.*, in 1275 burgesses alone granted to the king a duty on exportation of wool and skins. In 1295 they grant one-seventh of their movables, whilst clergy give one tenth and barons and knights one eleventh, here are three distinct bodies. This distinction kept up until parliament of 1333 under Edward III. Barons and knights vote one fifteenth, the burgesses one tenth. Here, although the sums granted by the first two classes were same, the registers of parliament say that the knights sat with the burgesses, and not with the barons. In 1345 the knights vote two fifteenths of their movables, the burgesses one, and the barons nothing, because they are to follow him to war. Here, then, it seems the knights have separated from the barons, although yet distinct from the burgesses. [504.] In 1347 the commons without distinction vote two-fifteenths to be raised in two years. This the first undoubted case not only of knights and burgesses sitting together, but voting together, which soon afterward became the general custom.

Thus will it be seen, by reference to parliamentary history, that for about first 80 years after the burgesses went to parliament they sat by themselves, whilst the barons and county delegates were united. The county delegates were much more respected than the city, were much oftener called to parliament, because they were strictly feudal in character. In all commercial matters the cities were consulted exclusively. When the whole parliament sat in same place, all the parts were generally in the same house, the barons and knights in the upper story and the burgesses in the lower. Such was the tendency to separation of interests at first, that even the burgesses sometimes divided, those from the royal domain forming a class distinct from the others. Not to wonder, then, that the high barons and county delegates should separate. We find the latter alone consulted about the alienation of fiefs, which resulted in the statute, *Quia Emptores Terrorum*, and afterward their separa-

tion became more and more frequent, till at last it became permanent. When this happened there were many reasons for union with the burgesses.

General causes which produced the union of the burgesses and county delegates into one body—the commons: 1st. They came to parliament by same kind of right, election, and, consequently, both acted not for themselves, but for their constituents. 2d. Their interests were similar. There must have been great community of interest between the country and its towns. 3d. The county courts were the centers where the whole county population met to transact business, often the townspeople did their business in that court likewise, and even sometimes held their elections there. Besides this, the country courts had a wonderful influence in wearing away all the aristocratic differences in the country population, because of the equality of rights which all the freedholders possessed in court, and because they here held their consultations, debated their interests, and concerted their measures in common. As the country population became more democratic, it lost its feudal character, and became more assimilated to the cities. 4th. Lastly, the barons formed the king's council and courts, besides sitting in parliament. They would therefore often be convened with the knights, were a sort of permanent branch, always concerned in the exercise of the kingly power. Whereas the knights and burgesses went on the business of their respective constituents alone, and did not meddle with central power farther than as it immediately affected their constituents. These were main reasons which brought the burgesses and knights together.

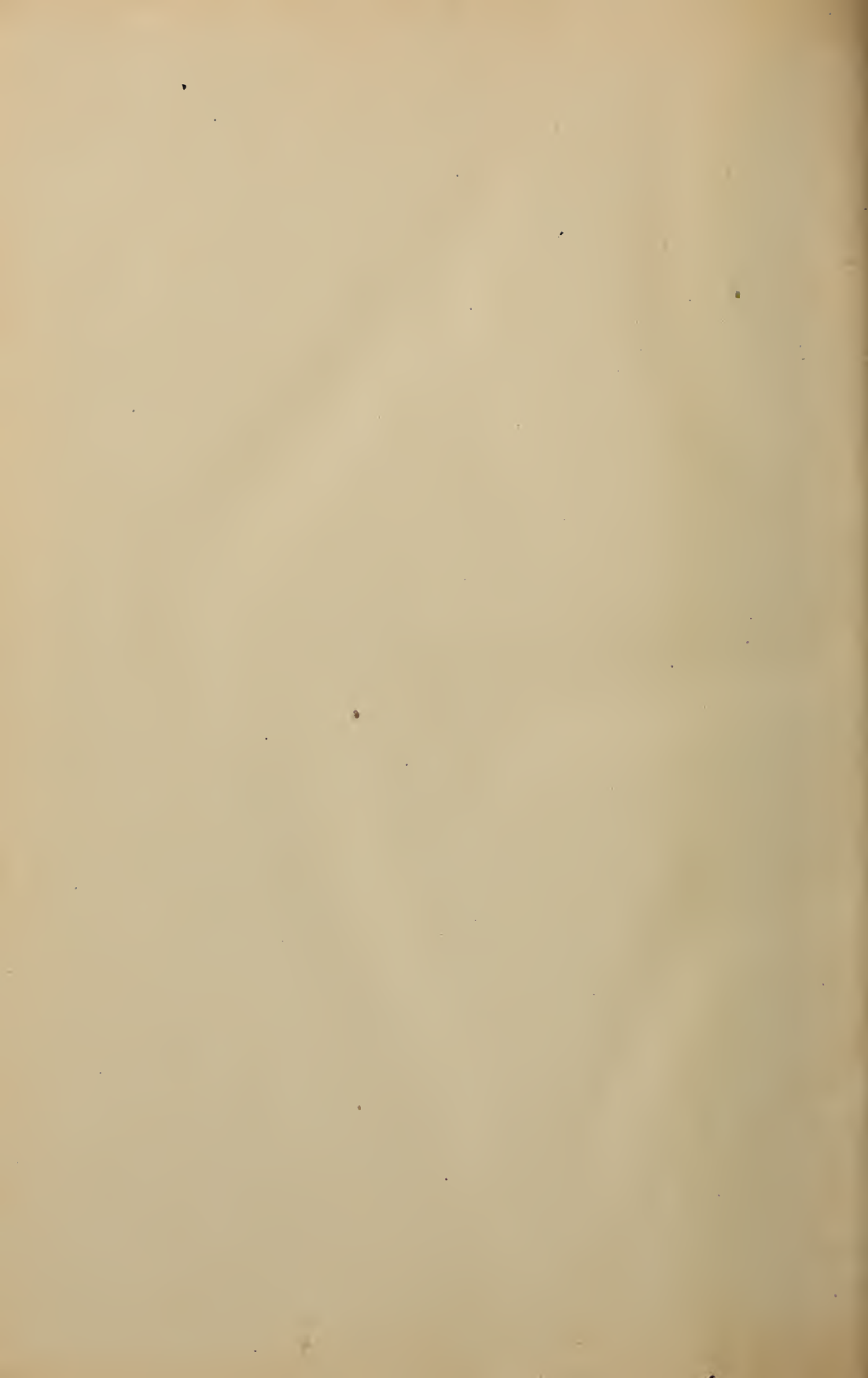
Concurrence of both houses becomes necessary to legislation. Main object of calling burgesses and even knights was to get money of them, and as different interests would give differently, so they acted apart. But it is in the nature of such bodies when called together to increase gradually the spheres of their action. Not only to determine whether they will give this or that subsidy demanded of them, but to recommend certain things to the king, to make petitions, to call for changes in the laws, etc., etc. Thus their action becomes more and more general, and, consequently, while special interests and special actions tended to divide the body into different parts, these general interests and general actions would have a tendency to unite, hence we have seen formation of house of commons by knights and burgesses. Again, if king in passing laws deemed the interests of the commons to be at all concerned, he would naturally consult them, ask their advice, etc. Or, if the commons wanted any laws changed they would petition and press for change, etc. And such monarchs as the Edwards soon saw that it was best to have advice and concurrence of all to their general measures, for then all would be more willing to vote money. Edward III. even consulted his parliaments as to war and peace, in order the more gracefully to ask for the supplies. In this manner it became, by de-

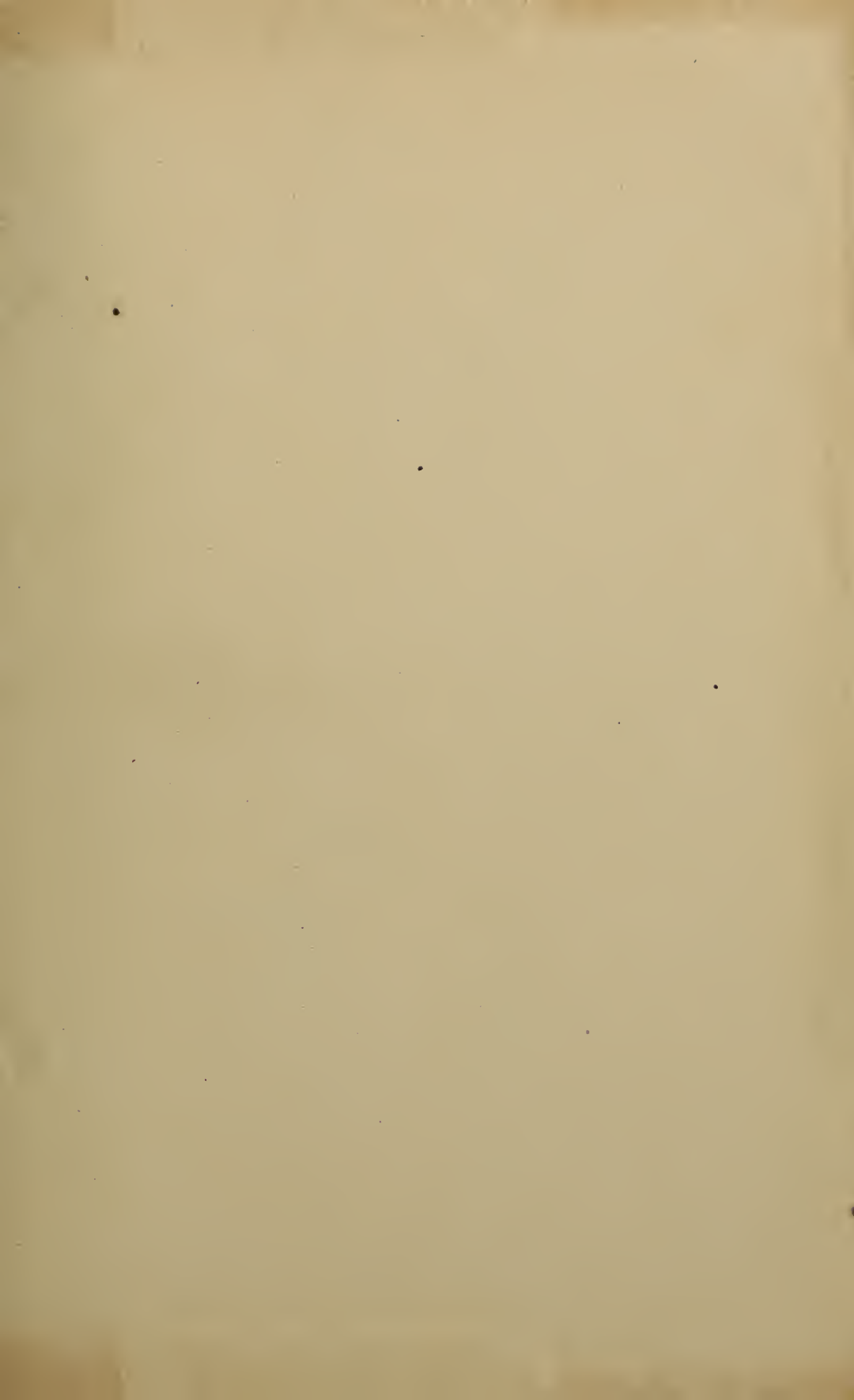
grees, before the end of the long reign of Edward III., a settled practice for both houses to concur in the framing of all laws, the commons, who before this reign were rarely mentioned in the enacting clause, were now as rarely omitted. Laws were declared to be made at the request of the commons, and by the assent of the lords and prelates; in fact, it is evident from the rolls of parliament that statutes were almost always founded on their petition. (H. 379.) Here, then, we have the complete formation of the British parliament into lords and commons, with joint concurrence necessary to all legislation.

ERRATA.

- On page 24, for anon, read *more*.
- On page 28, 2d line from bottom, for system, read *citizen*.
- On page 36, in 3d line from bottom, for constituted, read *constructed*.
- On page 37, for repudiation, read *representation*.
- On page 60, for depressed, read *dissevered*.
- On page 64, for transitive, read *transition*.
- On page 78, for persons, read *purposes*.







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